AMBASSADOR COLLEGE LIBRARY
Display Copy
DEC 31 1984

14 December 1984 80p IR£1.29 US$1.50 By Air

New Statesman

Michael Ignatieff on the agonies of the miners' strike • Who's helping the 'working' miners? • PLUS: Books • Arts

LICENSED TO JSTOR
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Statesman

Cover drawing: Cliff Harper

Agonies of the strike

Mark Hollingsworth: NCB's silent help to working miners 8

Michael Ignatieff: a new language of fellowship is needed for a social fabric ripped by the miners' strike 25

NEWS 4-6

HOME

Peter Kellner: On looking inside Thatcher's handbag 7
Peter Riddell: Tories rediscover unemployment 10
Kate Holman: The unaccountable TUC Women's Conference 12
Geraldine Hackett: 16-year fight of Ford sewing machinists 15

FOREIGN

Stephen Cohen: waiting for Godot — oops! — Gorbachev 19
Claudia Wright: Greeks decline to go hang themselves 20
Joe Hanlon: women's fury at Frelimo land deal 20

BOOKS

David Montrose: Boswell 28
Naomi Mitchison: Breyten Breytenbach 28
Anne Smith: Mitfords 30
Shorter reviews 31
James Bentley: Human condition 32
C. Dennis Pegge: Poem 32

ARTS

John Spurling: Visual art 33
Benedict Nightingale: Theatre 34
Andrew Clements: Opera 36
Christopher Priest: Film 36

BACKCHAT

Peter Forbes: Chemicals and nature 38
Hugo Williams: Television 38
Weekend competition 39
Naseem Khan: Work in progress 40
Crossword 41

PLUS

This England 16
Media: Mary Holland 16
Diary: Alison Hennegan 18
Roger Woddis 18
Letters 23-24
Slump 23

NEXT WEEK

Christmas Double Issue with 2 short stories; Books of the year; Jemima Squiffy's Xmas quiz; Cora Kaplan's Red Christmas; Gareth Stedman Jones; Charles Plouviez on the end of 1984; 1985; Arts game; and much, much more...

New Statesman, 14-16 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU
Tel: 01-253 2001/Editorial 01-253 2003
Telex: 28449/Cables: Newstat, London EC1
© 1984 Statesman & Nation Publishing Co Ltd & contributors
Published and distributed by The Statesman & Nation Publishing Co Ltd

Editor: Hugh Stephenson; **Deputy Editor:** Sarah Benton; **News Editor:** Andrew Lumsden; **Editorial staff:** Duncan Campbell, Jane Dibblin, Rob Edwards (Scotland), Mary Holland (Ireland), Peter Kellner (Political editor), John Rentoul, Claudia Wright (Washington); **Literary Editor:** Gillian Wilce; **Deputy Literary Editor:** Harriett Gilbert; **Production Manager:** Joanne Hurst; **Layout & design:** Vicky Hutchings; **Editorial Assistant:** Jane Thomas

Subscriptions: Cecilia Milton, Joan Scanlon; **Circulation:** Liz Cooper, John Duncan (London), Tim Freeman; **Display advertisements:** Michael Roberts (01-253 2001); **Classified advertisements:** Laura Berryman, David Jones (01-251 5487)

Subscription rates: UK & Eire £37; Europe (air mail only) £41; rest of world: air speeded £41; air mail £52. USA: air speeded $62; air mail $83. Canada: air speeded Can $72; air mail Can $97.

Second class postage paid at New York, NY USPS 382260. Air freight in US by Speedimpex USA Inc. (US Postmaster: Address changes should be sent to New Statesman, Speedimpex USA Inc., 45-45 39th Street, Long Island City, NY 11104)

Unsolicited manuscripts and artwork will only be returned if an SAE is enclosed.

New Statesman

Vol 108 No 2804 14 December 1984

Gauleiter Jenkin issues his orders

ON TUESDAY Patrick Jenkin, the Environment Secretary, ploughed through his virtually unintelligible presentation of the 'rate capping' of 18 individual local authorities. Over the years, under governments of all complexions, there has been a steady erosion of the rights and responsibility of local government. It has fallen to Jenkin, however, to be the minister who has taken the final step which calls into question the validity of the entire system of supposedly accountable local government.

The Jenkin doctrine is that in all matters of importance local authorities are simply the agents of the central government of the day. If they doggedly persist in refusing to do what they are told, then Whitehall will intervene directly to make them. When the act of defiance concerns spending or rates, Jenkin now has the new Rates Act, which allows him to 'influence directly the spending levels of the worst overspenders by imposing limits on their rates'. That is in effect the end of any freedom and choice for local authorities. It is a historic milestone on the road towards the total centralisation of local government.

There have been two centripetal pressures at work on local government. The first comes from the fact that political parties adopt national policies, include them in their manifestos, get elected and then want to see them implemented. When individual elected authorities take a different view and resist, the civil servants in Whitehall (who almost universally despise local authority politicians and bureaucrats) are only to willing to show ministers how to take powers to compel the rebels into line. (In the 1970s this happened under the Tories over the financing of public housing and under Labour over the move to comprehensive secondary schools. Under this government it has been happening continually.)

The second pressure comes from the instinct for 'equity'. Westminster and Whitehall do not like the idea that those in one part of the country may get a different level of 'service' at a different 'price' to others. Since the majority of the services that most of us get from the State are administered by local authorities, this gives 'the man in Whitehall' — who always assumes that 'he' knows best — a permanent reason for telling local government what to do.

The most obvious current example of this in the past 18 months has been the police. Doctrine has it that policing — like education and housing — is a local authority function, that the role of the Home Office is merely advisory (except in relation to London). Yet, as we have seen with the miners' strike, a *de facto* national police capacity has been created, with its operations financed on an ad hoc basis by the Treasury and without any control by or consultation with the elected police authorities to which they have until now at least in theory been responsible.

BUT AT LEAST until now the presumption has been that central government placed increased functions on local authorities and then intervened in order to see that these were carried out at an acceptable level. Patrick Jenkin, however, has pronounced the reverse doctrine.

Any local authority that tries to spend above the statutorily required minimum will now be charged with squandering

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ratepayers' money and brought to book. For example, according to Jenkin, the plaint of the Inner London Education Authority that his new regime will involve serious educational cuts is dismissed because it is spending 'way above the minimum'. Leaving aside the question of whether Jenkin has any qualification for deciding what is a sensible sum to spend on education (and ignoring the fact that the Schools Inspectorate has of late been taking Tory education authorities like Norfolk to task for providing a totally unacceptable level of education), the fact is that ILEA spends some £1,700 a year on a secondary school child — compared with an average of more than £2,200 a year for the private schools of the Headmasters' Conference and £4,950 for a place at Eton, none of which schools have to deal with the special educational 'problems' facing ILEA.

The Jenkin doctrine in other words is that minimum levels of spending should be set by Whitehall and that these minimums should then become the maximums that any authority is allowed to spend without his Rates Act coming down upon its head. What role has local political choice in such a system? □

Hong Kong's way with refugees

MRS THATCHER is off to China to sign the agreement which will give Hong Kong back to the Chinese. Sovereignty in this instance was, after all, negotiable and those who lived in the colony were not asked for their views, let alone given a veto on the outcome of the negotiations. The agreement that she will be signing is as reasonable as Britain could probably get to bring to an end a colonial anachronism involving no real British national interest, particularly after the offence taken by the Chinese at Mrs Thatcher's grotesquely ignorant and insensitive remarks about sovereignty and the future of the people of Hong Kong when she visited the place in 1982. But it cannot be squared with her jingoistic rhetoric about the Falklands.

The core of the agreement is that China will respect the 'way of life' of the inhabitants of Hong Kong for at least half a century after sovereignty reverts to China in 1997. At the moment that way of life for over 6,500 Vietnamese refugees in the colony consists of being kept in effect in prison under conditions of unusually close surveillance with little prospect of ever being let out. They are refugees from Vietnam, not criminals; but they are being treated like criminals, with the additional punishment that they have no idea of the length of their sentence. The responsibility for this situation lies squarely with the British government here and with the British colonial government in Hong Kong.

To begin with Hong Kong had a relatively enlightened attitude towards the Vietnamese boat people. They were put into open camps and allowed to find work, pending resettlement in other countries — mainly in the United States, but also in the United Kingdom, Australia, Sweden and elsewhere. In 1980 over 6,000 were allowed into this country under special immigration dispensation. Being humane to these 'refugees from Communism' fitted well into the Reagan-Thatcher view of the world.

In July 1982 all that changed. Vietnamese boat people were no longer news. The main recipient countries reverted to their traditional attitude towards allowing in non-whites. In 1982 the UK took only some 240 Vietnamese from Hong Kong. In 1983 only 100. From July 1982 new refugees arriving in Hong Kong were put into 'closed camps', run by the Hong Kong prison service, as a deliberate act of policy to discourage others following behind.

The political pressure on the Hong Kong government for changing policy came from the colony's Chinese, who objected to what they saw as more liberal treatment of the Vietnamese than of refugees from the Chinese mainland, who if caught are invariably sent back — even when they have close relatives in Hong Kong. But the fact of the matter is that the Hong Kong government is imprisoning without charge (for they are guilty of nothing) over 6,000 people. Only 10 per cent of those put into these 'closed camps' have so far found their way out.

THE CONDITIONS in which the refugees are held in the closed camps are quite simply unacceptable. Husbands and wives living apart in open and closed camps are kept apart. (Even those who are prepared to give up their freedom and their jobs in order to join their spouses in the closed prisons are refused permission to do so.) The living spaces made available within the prison camps are degradingly inadequate.

The internal administration of a refugee camp should be in the hands of the refugees, as is the case elsewhere. But these camps are run like prisons by the prison service, requiring strict obedience to a regime, using punishments like the withdrawal of 'privileges' and up to 28 days' solitary confinement to impose it. All incoming mail is searched and all outgoing mail to Vietnam has to carry an official notice describing the 'closed camp' policy.

In August the UN High Commissioner for Refugees said that the prolonged detention of refugees in prison-like conditions for the sole purpose of discouraging further arrivals is unjustified. The British and Hong Kong governments, however, have shown no sign of being bothered by the exposure of this scandal. Unless public opinion is brought to bear on Mrs Thatcher and her government, these conditions are set to become a permanent part of the Hong Kong way of life between now and 1997. □

Behind barbed wire, *a policy statement by the British Refugee Council on the closed camps is available from the Council, Bondway House, 3-9 Bondway, London SW8.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PINK CARD THAT ALLOWS TROOPS TO KILL
Duncan Campbell on new threat to Greenham

BRITISH AND AMERICAN troops guarding cruise missile silos at Greenham Common and other nuclear sites have been authorised to shoot unarmed, nonviolent peace protestors, even if their clear intention is only to stage a peaceful and temporary protest. The shooting is authorised by special 'rules of engagement' (ROE) for nuclear guards, a copy of which has been obtained by the *New Statesman*. The rules are printed on a pink card and are issued to all servicemen on nuclear guard duty. They state the circumstances under which guards may open fire on protestors.

EARLIER this year, the Ministry of Defence refused to allow the House of Commons Defence Committee to publish the rules. Despite severe criticism of 'anomalies' in the rules, Defence Minister John Stanley pleaded to the Committee in June that publication would put guards at 'an unnecessary disadvantage'.

The critical rule on the pink card is number 7, which applies only to nuclear weapons stores. This authorises guards who have been told by a superior that they are guarding 'designated vital premises, property, or installations', that they may ignore the normal legal requirement not to open fire except in self- or collective defence against someone who is committing an 'act likely to endanger life'. A British guard killing an unarmed protestor could still be put on trial for murder or manslaughter, but would be likely to escape conviction if the official rules on the pink card had been followed.

The pink card ROEs also apply to American members of the joint US/UK GLCM (Ground Launched Cruise Missile) Defence Force stationed at Greenham Common. But an American guard who shot a peace protestor could not be put on trial by the British authorities. British courts have no jurisdiction over Americans stationed here, while they are on duty, although US authorities could opt to hold a court martial if they chose.

Rule 7 on the pink card allows guards to open fire if anyone 'attempts to take possession' of the property they are guarding, 'AND THERE IS NO OTHER WAY OF PREVENTING THIS'. This rule could be invoked if, for example, Greenham women were now to repeat their earlier invasion of the missile storage silos — or a Christian CND prayer meeting were to be attempted at an American nuclear weapons 'special storage area'.

Astonished Commons

Publication of the full rules has already aroused parliamentary concern. Even Conservative MPs were astonished in November 1983 when, during the debate on the arrival of the cruise missiles, Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine refused to give the House of Commons an assurance that he would instruct RAF and US Air Force commanders at Greenham Common that 'under no circumstances will shots be fired at the peace protestors'.

Heseltine responded 'I categorically will give no such assurance'. He implied, correctly, that similar rules of engagement concerning nuclear weapons had been in force under previous Labour governments.

The card is officially designated JSP (Joint Services Publication) 386. It's similar in appearance to the instructions given to troops in N Ireland about when they may open fire during riots or engagements with the IRA. Normally, the rules in JSP386 for shooting at civilians would only apply when servicemen in Britain were carrying live ammunition after mobilisation during crisis or war. Then, they could kill anyone interfering with military operations.

Members of the Commons Defence Committee were shown the rules earlier this year, during their inquiry into the physical security of military installations in the UK. They were disturbed 'to uncover a number of anomalies' in the ROE.

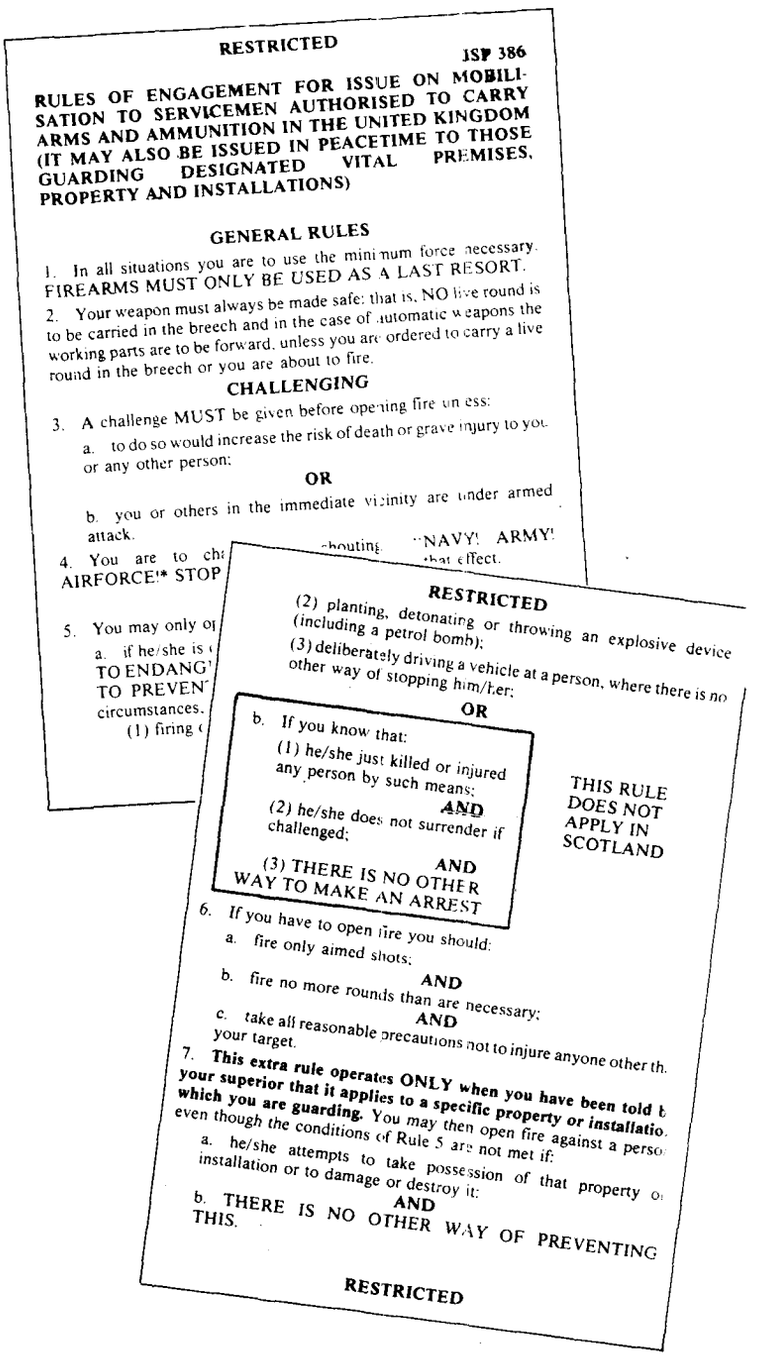
USAF anomaly

The most serious anomaly in the rules is that US Air Force guards are *not* required to carry the pink cards. Nor, unlike their British counterparts, do they have to sign 'certificates of individual responsibility' before going on armed guard duty. Moreover, away from Greenham Common, US guards operate to far laxer US-devised rules — a feature that the Committee feared could be 'damagingly exposed' if an incident occurred.

At bases like Upper Heyford, according to official sources, the US rules of engagement permit guards to kill anyone interfering with equipment 'essential to the mission' of the base — not just nuclear weapons. This could include F-111 bombers — or even transport aircraft.

Legal officials have warned the Ministry of Defence that if an incident of this kind occurred, an American serviceman might not be tried by the US authorities for killing a British demonstrator, whereas, in identical circumstances, a British serviceman who shot a civilian protestor would be outside the terms of the British ROE and would be charged with murder.

Another part of the ROEs does not apply in Scotland, where a different legal system prohibits shooting someone evading arrest — which is lawful in England and Wales, even if life is no longer in danger. The Defence Committee warned the Defence Ministry in their July report that these problems should be tidied up before an incident occurs — or 'more than an individual would end up in the dock'. ●



RESTRICTED

JSP 386

RULES OF ENGAGEMENT FOR ISSUE ON MOBILISATION TO SERVICEMEN AUTHORISED TO CARRY ARMS AND AMMUNITION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM (IT MAY ALSO BE ISSUED IN PEACETIME TO THOSE GUARDING DESIGNATED VITAL PREMISES, PROPERTY AND INSTALLATIONS)

GENERAL RULES

1. In all situations you are to use the minimum force necessary. FIREARMS MUST ONLY BE USED AS A LAST RESORT.
2. Your weapon must always be made safe: that is, NO live round is to be carried in the breech and in the case of automatic weapons the working parts are to be forward, unless you are ordered to carry a live round in the breech or you are about to fire.

CHALLENGING

3. A challenge MUST be given before opening fire unless:
   a. to do so would increase the risk of death or grave injury to you or any other person;

OR

   b. you or others in the immediate vicinity are under armed attack.
4. You are to challenging NAVY! ARMY! AIRFORCE!* STOP that effect.
5. You may only open fire if:
   a. if he/she is ... TO ENDANGER ... TO PREVENT ... circumstances.
      (1) firing ...
      (2) planting, detonating or throwing an explosive device (including a petrol bomb);
      (3) deliberately driving a vehicle at a person, where there is no other way of stopping him/her;

OR

   b. If you know that:
      (1) he/she just killed or injured any person by such means;

AND

      (2) he/she does not surrender if challenged;

AND

      (3) THERE IS NO OTHER WAY TO MAKE AN ARREST

THIS RULE DOES NOT APPLY IN SCOTLAND

6. If you have to open fire you should:
   a. fire only aimed shots;

AND

   b. fire no more rounds than are necessary;

AND

   c. take all reasonable precautions not to injure anyone other than your target.
7. **This extra rule operates ONLY when you have been told by your superior that it applies to a specific property or installation which you are guarding.** You may then open fire against a person even though the conditions of Rule 5 are not met if:
   a. he/she attempts to take possession of that property or installation or to damage or destroy it;

AND

   b. THERE IS NO OTHER WAY OF PREVENTING THIS.

RESTRICTED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MI5 subverts 'dirty tricks' investigation

A TWO YEAR police investigation of British army 'dirty tricks' alleged to have occurred in Northern Ireland during the mid-1970s has resulted in insufficient evidence to 'warrant the initiation of criminal proceedings against any person', former army intelligence officer Captain Fred Holroyd has been told by Northern Ireland's Director of Public Prosecutions.

This finding, however, follows a secret cover-up mounted earlier this year by MI5, the Security Service, in order to obstruct and sidetrack the police investigation. The *NS* has been passed details of the MI5 cover-up, which began late in 1983. We've also obtained new evidence showing that both the Ministry of Defence and the Secret and Security Services (MI6 and MI5) have long been aware that army officers and secret agents did commit criminal offences both north and south of the border.

The 'dirty tricks' offences were described by Captain Holroyd to an investigation team from the Royal Ulster Constabulary during 1983. They include a political assassination and two kidnap attempts in Eire, the planting of firearms, the deliberate derailing of a train, and a series of 'cowboy' intelligence operations which cost at least three men their lives. These incidents were reported in detail earlier this year (*NS* 4, 11 and 18 May), in a joint investigation with Channel 4's *Diverse Reports*.

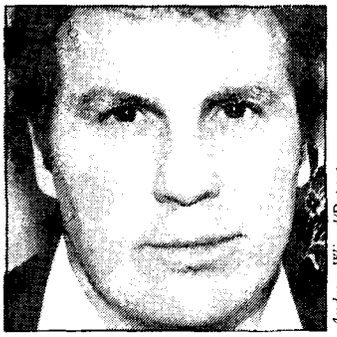
Detailed reports

Since then, we've obtained two detailed reports on the secret British dirty tricks campaign in Northern Ireland, written by a senior intelligence official who has also served in the North. These reports confirm most of Holroyd's allegations, and give further details previously unknown to Holroyd — such as the name of the senior military officer who organised kidnap plots inside Eire.

At the same time as the RUC investigation, the Ministry of Defence ordered its own internal investigation of the dirty tricks campaign, conducted by the Director of Army Security, and the Army's Special Investigation Branch. This investigation also confirmed many of Holroyd's allegations — but the results were not passed on to the RUC team. The Defence Ministry found itself unable either to confirm or refute some of the more sensitive allegations about kidnap and assassination plots inside Eire, since MI5 and MI6 refused to co-operate.

MI5 obstruction

Late in 1983, a senior official of the Security Service (MI5), intervened in order to obstruct the police investigation. The official involved,



Andrew Wiard/Report

Holroyd, formerly of army intelligence

Mr Bernard Sheldon, is MI5's 'legal adviser', and reports directly to Security Service Director-General Sir John Jones. After Holroyd went to the RUC to lay his charges, MI5 secretly approached the Ministry of Defence to ask for their assistance in blunting the RUC investigation.

Sheldon repeatedly visited officials of MoD Defence Secretariat 6, which is concerned with Northern Ireland operations, and asked the MoD Permanent Secretary Sir Clive Whitmore should head off the RUC investigation. Sheldon suggested that Whitmore should tell RUC Chief Constable Sir Jack Hermon that agents' lives would be at risk if the police investigated the criminal offences which Holroyd had revealed.

But the Defence Ministry was reluctant to comply with MI5's demands, so Sheldon went direct to the Northern Ireland Office. He was more successful there. Hermon was subsequently advised by the N10 to curtail his investigation in the national interest.

In fact, MI5's principal grounds for concern were that the Director of Public Prosecutions for Northern Ireland, Sir Barry Shaw, is regarded as a less tolerant legal figure than the English DPP, Sir Tony Hetherington. Sheldon regularly visits the offices of the DPP or the chambers of Attorney-General Sir Michael Havers when sensitive cases affecting the interests of the intelligence community are involved. He has also cultivated the ear of many leading Fleet Street editors, such as Donald Trelford of the *Observer*, in order to attempt further leverage on behalf of MI5.

Since the cover-up began, the RUC have refused to return critical evidence to Captain Holroyd, including a photograph given to him by the late Captain Robert Nairac, GC, of a senior IRA figure whom Nairac claimed to have assassinated, in the Irish Republic. Other evidence includes photographs of a train derailed during an Army and SAS investigation, and tape recordings in which another intelligence officer, now dead, described his personal knowledge of the 'dirty tricks' campaign.

Duncan Campbell

MISCELLANY

Yorkshire puddings

And talking of 'what a commentary . . .' (last week's item about the pointlessness in the present climate of trying to make a civil libertarian amendment to the Theatres Act), *what a commentary* on the 'greatest possible range of choice and personal initiative' promised by Mrs Thatcher (London Charter for Democracy, 8 June 1984) we saw in this Tuesday's Appeal Court verdict on Mary Simpson — the lesbian who is having to fight Harrogate council for the right to stay in the house she shared with her lover for two years, until the latter's death on 8 February. Appeal dismissed and leave to appeal to the House of Lords refused. She went to Appeal on the advice of the Recorder who first heard her case (*NS* 31 August). Her lawyers — who are seeking to have her protected under Section 50 of the Housing Act subsection 3, which covers the survivor of persons who had been living as husband and wife — are acting for only nominal fees. There's a three week stay of execution of the order, during which Mary Simpson aims to petition the House of Lords to hear her appeal after all, but she's already been told to pay Harrogate's costs (?£1,000), and the petition could

further lift the bill. Beyond, she is advised, could well lie an admissable case for the EuroCourt. Meanwhile she's been tucked away in a safe address lest the populars do a number. If you'd like to help, the Mary Simpson Campaign Fund, c/o Gay News, Lamb House, Church St, Chiswick, London W4 2PH needs cash urgently.

Take-away précis

It's a long time since the NS *was the 'house magazine' of the Parliamentary Labour Party, but this week a copy of the 'Staggers' (as it used to be known) was on the Shadow Cabinet agenda. The article concerned was our exclusive revelation two weeks ago that Labour HQ thinks the party's economic arguments wholly unconvincing. Apparently this was the first some members of the Shadow Cabinet had heard of it. But we understand the article was attached to the agenda not to instigate a leak inquiry but because it was the best available summary of the 57-page document. Happy to offer comparable service to Ministers.*

That devil Dalyell

The hero of the *Belgrano* affair, Linlithgow MP Tam Dalyell, isn't always on the side of the angels. No sir. Long an enthusiastic supporter of nuclear power, he's now turned his powers of rhetoric to a ferocious attack on the anti-nuclear lobby. Fulminating in the recent special Silver Jubilee issue of *The Nuclear Engineer*, he accuses pressure groups of refusing to accept the truth about nuclear power. The 'priests of pressure groups', he says, only continue to oppose nuclear power in order to keep themselves in jobs. Eh? What is it the 'priests of pressure vessels' have if it isn't . . . jobs?

Good egg — in parts?

The name of Simon Hughes MP appears snuggled between Bishop Trevor Huddleston and Glenda Jackson on the list of famous people asking us all to give generously to the miners over Christmas. Can this be the same Simon Hughes who wrote to the chief executive of Southwark council asking under what powers were the council's libraries permitted to have bins collecting food for miners' families? He was only *asking*, he excused himself at the time, 'on behalf of a constituent'.

Ana Gram psychos (10)

Now that the Labour front bench are off the hook and all you anagrampuses have been let loose on the Tories most suggestions are unfit to print. Stout work. Shoals still coming in for Herself — —' Halt that mad, grim preacher', from Kate Marks of Highgate; 'Th' hated regal matriarch', from Cloë Buck of Bradford; 'Hate that mad girl archer' from M K Whiteman of N6; and 'Help trim great hard ham act' from S H G Head of Lancing. Not a kind word. . . But this week was supposed to be the tadpole of Torydom, Michael Portillo, not the Great Frog all over again, so here, confined to those which anyone could permit the servants to read, are some Portillograms: 'O ill portal chime', tolls John O'Byrne from Dublin. 'I'm the local oil PR', say the 'Manchester Square Wordsmiths', brilliantly recalling Portillo's time with the oil business. Out of 45 entries they also have 'I'l (sic) *promote a chill', which the Southgate Tory was certainly doing in his late work for Lawson. Which reminds us: please put forth your very best so that once and for all we can pin to the wall the Rt Hon Nigel Lawson MP (honorifics optional as always).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FAMILY NOT SATISFIED BY MURRELL INQUEST

THE INQUEST on Hilda Murrell, the 'pillar of respectability' whose body was found in a copse just outside Shrewsbury on 24 March, has now been held. JUDITH COOK, who in *NS* 9 November brought widescale public attention to the question of whether there are political aspects to the killing, tells of the family's persisting dissatisfaction with official handling of the case

THE INQUEST, finally held on 5 December in Shrewsbury, passed off without controversy. This was to be expected. Police opinion remains firm — Miss Murrell was murdered, or left to die by a passing burglar who had broken into her house looking for money, been disturbed by Miss Murrell and then abducted her.

The only witnesses called were Detective Chief Superintendent David Cole, brough in from Worcester to head the local police enquiry, and a forensic pathologist. Cole said there is absolutely no proof that the death had been connected in any way with the fact that Miss Murrell had been preparing a paper for the Sizewell Inquiry.

The pathologist's evidence added little to what was already known. Facts *are* still being held back, said the police, on the grounds that it is necessary to keep them out of the press as the murderer still hasn't been caught. A verdict of unlawful killing was brought in and the coroner thanked all those involved.

Why so few witnesses?

But Miss Murrell's nephew, Rob Green, who took voluntary redundancy from the navy after being a high-ranking naval intelligence officer with a crucial role in the Falklands War (for which he received a special citation), and his wife remain far from satisfied. They're going to attempt to get hold of a copy of one or both of the post mortem reports on Miss Murrell's death.

They don't feel that any of the more controversial aspects of the murder were brought up in court at all — and are particularly dismayed that no other witnesses were called, apart from the police and the pathologist.

The case has begun to arouse a great deal of interest not only in this country but in the USA, Canada and Germany. A number of MPs are now interesting themselves in it. Rob Green's special responsibilities during the Falklands War have raised suggestions that they might, in some way, be connected with his aunt's death, but he doesn't feel this can be the case. At no time did he ever discuss his work with his aunt.

However the fact that he did work for naval intelligence could have provided another reason for a break-in by somebody already wanting to know what the basis of Miss Murrell's case at the Sizewell Inquiry was to have been. ●

BELGRANO ENQUIRY

Labour MPs deliquesce

THERE'S not much hope of the full truth about the sinking of the *Belgrano* being exposed by the Commons select committee, if its report on Fortress Falklands (published this week) is anything to go by. The committee only divided (that is, went to a vote) once, on a spineless report which accepted the 'wisdom' of the government's approach to negotiations with Argentina over the islands' future.

True, the report attacks the government for pursuing the islands' development at a 'funereal pace'. But it falls far short of the swingeing condemnation issued by the previous Foreign Affairs Committee 18 months ago (a draft report rushed out when the House was dissolved for the election).

That report came just a year after the Falklands war when Argentina still had a military government. Yet it still insisted that the British government had to settle the islands' future urgently, implying a discussion of sovereignty.

This week's report agrees with Mrs Thatcher that it's hopeless negotiating with the Argies because of their insistence on talking about sovereignty *first* and says the government in Buenos Aires can't be trusted any more because it's democratic, and so could change(!).

The only bit which apparently stuck in the throats of the Labour members of the committee was a phrase to the effect that the British government's refusal to discuss sovereignty was 'no doubt prudent' in the present situation. A Labour amendment, moved by Dennis Canavan, to substitute 'understandable', was defeated by 3 votes to 2.

If this is the Labour members at their most assertive, we can't expect a vigorous condemnation of the government cover-up or a determined attempt to uncover the facts in the committee's report on the *Belgrano*. The case for forcing the government to publish a white paper setting out its (latest) version of the truth grows daily stronger.

John Rentoul

MINERS PICKETS ROLL CALL (5)

Total arrests to date*: 8,731

*from March 14 to 7 December, not including arrests of supporters on street collections, etc

IN THE COURTS

As of 4 December, 7,249 pickets had been charged and 3,681 cases had been heard in court by that date (64 per cent as against 49 per cent as at 8 November; the speed-up has been due to the use of stipendiary magistrates sent to the mining areas). The largest number of charges were for 'breach of the peace' (3,787 made under the Public Order Act and 164 under common law) followed by 'obstruction of the police' (1,603 cases). The upward trends in charges of 'unlawful assembly' (509), criminal damage (889) and intimidation (270) continued. Among the serious charges were two of murder against the miners accused of killing the taxi driver in South Wales and a variety of charges including grievous bodily harm and aggravated burglary against 18 miners in connection with an attack on a working miner.

The proportion of acquittals has risen to over a fifth (22 per cent — 809). But an increasing number of those found guilty have been given custodial sentences: 87 have now been jailed and 17 sent to detention centres. A further 41 suspended sentences have been meted out. Almost two-thirds of those sentenced (64 per cent) received fines, a third of whom were stung for £100 or more.

PRISON

December has seen the first woman to be jailed as a result of picketing. A striking miner's wife from Nottingham, she is being held in Risley for refusing to stop picketing at Ollerton. She was arrested on three successive days and as her bail conditions included the restriction that she should not return to the picket line, she was remanded in custody. She faces charges of 'using insulting words and behaviour'.

The two South Wales miners accused of murder are in custody, as are 11 of the Pontefract pitmen accused of offences in connection with an attack on a working miner.

STREET COLLECTIONS

There have been a number of incidents at **Collets**, a socialist bookshop in central London. Three times the police have entered the shop in pursuit of people collecting outside and attempted to search parts of the premises not open to the public.

In **Leeds**, the Tory opposition on the council has protested at the granting of licences for 557 collections by the ruling Labour group.

MP for Hammersmith North, Clive Soley is to be prosecuted for selling copies of the NUM newspaper in a shopping precinct. He was among 50 people cautioned by the police in August for carrying out an illegal collection. Police officers with a warrant for his arrest were turned away from Parliament.

'COMMUNITY POLICING'

Mass actions by police have included incidents of harrassment at **Selby** in North Yorkshire and at **Cadeby** near Doncaster. In Selby, police in riot gear were observed roaring around a council estate in the early hours of the morning, waking up residents. The police had earlier indicated to miners' leaders that they were adopting a 'low profile' approach and the local NUM branch secretary commented: 'The police's idea of low profile policing seems to be to have 20 police on each street.'

In Cadeby, riot police broke up an early morning picket and followed them to a nearby housing estate, again waking up the residents. One woman woke up at 3.30am to find a dozen police stumping around the back garden of her home shouting and swearing.

In **Brimington**, Derbyshire, villagers were told that if they were found on the streets even half an hour before a working miners' bus arrived, they would have their names and address taken which would be passed on to the NCB, and possibly face charges of 'besetting'.

MASS ARRESTS

The number of mass arrests has continued to decline. However, recent incidents include:

29 November. 39 pickets arrested in South Wales following clashes with police between Port Talbot and Llanwern steel plants.

14 November. 13 arrested at Pontefract where 500 police in riot gear charged into a picket line to break it up.

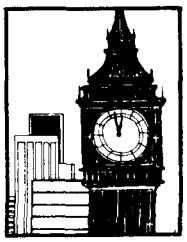
COST OF POLICING

Compensation paid to police injured on picket line duty could come to over £1.5m, according to a Criminal Injuries Compensation Board estimate. The sum is based on the figure of 1,200 police who have been injured in the dispute.

The cost of policing the dispute is set to top £200m according to *The Times*. South Yorkshire's costs leapt by a third in October to £12.3m. The Home Office says that exact total costs are not available but that by 8 Nov. an extra £89m. in police grant had been made available to police authorities.

The GLC police Committee Support Unit has produced a leaflet on street collections in London, available from Room 502, County Hall, London SE1 7PB (01-633 5944). Further advice can be obtained from the National Council for Civil Liberties (01-403 3888). The Public Order Research Group is collecting details of harassment of street collectors (9 Poland Street, London W1 01-734 5831). Please send any information on police or court treatment of striking miners, their families, and supporters to **Miners Pickets Roll Call, at the New Statesman.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



PETER KELLNER

If only Beveridge and Keynes had been around

ONE OF THE more enduring sights of 1984 has been critics of the government quoting the 1944 White Paper on employment at the Prime Minister — and of Mrs Thatcher fishing her own dog-eared copy, marked Margaret Roberts, out of her handbag and quoting a different bit back. As Tory back-benchers grow increasingly restless over the government's record (see Peter Riddell, p. 8), let us return to the original document and see what it reallys says.

Like so many things in history — from the Bible to the US constitution — it is possible for someone of almost any persuasion to pray the White Paper in aid of their cause. A textual debate between Mrs Thatcher and one of her critics might go something like this:

Critic: You cannot escape the significance of that opening sentence: 'The government accept as one of their primary aims and responsibilities' — you keep on omitting 'and responsibilities': that's naughty — 'the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment after the war'.

Thatcher: That's all very well, Sir Robin, but have you looked at the fifth paragraph of the foreword: 'Employment cannot be created by Act of Parliament or by Government action alone. Government policy will be directed to bringing about conditions favourable to the maintenance of a high level of employment' — No, please let me finish. 'The success of the policy outlined in this paper will ultimately depend on the understanding and support of the community as a whole . . . for without a rising standard of industrial efficiency we cannot achieve a high level of employment combined with a rising standard of living'. Now that's exactly what our policies are designed to achieve.

C: It may be that full employment depends 'ultimately' on industrial efficiency and so on; but there's plenty to do in the meantime. Look at paragraphs 40 and 41: 'The first step in a policy of maintaining general employment must be to prevent total expenditure from falling away . . . The crucial moment for intervention is at the first onset of decline . . . The Government are prepared to accept in future the responsibility for taking action at the earliest stage to arrest a threatened slump'. That hardly fits what you did in 1980 and 1981, when unemployment rose so sharply. Instead of countering the recession, you made it worse by deflating even further.

T: Now, Brian, you know perfectly well that is a caricature of what Geoffrey Howe did in those early budgets. Our policy ever since we took office has been entirely in accordance with paragraph 39: 'Three essential conditions must be satisfied: (a) Total expenditure on goods and services must be prevented from falling to a level where general employment appears'. My goodness, there is no shortage of spending power; if British industry were fully competitive, people would be buying British goods, not cars from Germany and videos from Japan. Then: '(b) The level of prices and wages must be kept reasonably stable'. Even you cannot deny we have achieved that —

C: But inflation today is still high by historical —

T: No, no, Mr Jay, *please* let me finish; I'm in full flood. '(c) There must be sufficient mobility of workers between occupations and localities'. What was it Norman said? 'My father used to get on his bike to look for work'. Norman's father, don't you see, was a *true* Keynesian, probably the first. Oh, and don't forget paragraph 49: 'Action taken by the Government to maintain expenditure will be fruitless unless wages and prices are kept reasonably stable. This if of vital importance to any employment policy, and must be clearly understood by all sections of the public'.

Then there is paragraph 56: 'If an expansion of total expenditure were applied to cure unemployment of a type due, not to absence of jobs, but to failure of workers to move to places and occupations where they were needed, the policy of the government would be frustrated and a dangerous rise in prices might follow'. Pure Nigel, that.

C: But look at paragraphs 62 and 63: 'Public investment can . . . be used more directly as an instrument of employment policy . . . For the purpose of maintaining general employment it is desirable that public investment should actually expand when private investment is declining'. And take paragraph 66: 'The Government believe that in the past the power of public expenditure, skilfully applied, to check the onset of a depression has been underestimated'.

And what about paragraph 73: 'If all public authorities adopted a policy of buying for stock when employment was flagging and allowing their stocks to run down when trade was brisk, they would make some contribution towards the stability of employment in those industries'. Yet this government has done the opposite: cut back public investment and other kinds of purchase sharply since 1979 — and the way it is treating local councils, there is precious little chance of their increasing investment at the moment.

T: Mr Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition refuses to accept what every housewife knows: you cannot spend money you do not have. The Rt Hon. gentleman should read paragraphs 74 and 77; they clearly support me. 'None of the main proposals contained in this paper involves deliberate planning for a deficit in the national budget in years of sub-normal trade . . . To the extent that the policies proposed in this paper affect the balancing of the budget in a particular year, they certainly do not contemplate any departure from the principle that the budget must be balanced over a longer period.'

REREADING the White Paper with all the objectivity for which this column is renowned, one point is blindingly clear. The political thrust of the famous first sentence is not matched by the economic analysis that follows. Although the popular demand for a full employment strategy was born out of the 1930s slump, the detailed proposals, taken together, could only work to offset slight variations from full employment — not to cure another major recession. The White Paper spoke to the problems of the 1950s and '60s rather than those of the 1930s and '80s.

More important for the current tussle over the legacy of the White Paper, it represented a compromise between Treasury orthodoxy and Keynesian expansionism. In essence, the expansionists kept in the ambitious political phraseology and the notion of counter-cyclical government spending — but the Treasury kept in all the stuff about inflation and sound finance.

A useful account of the infighting that lay behind the White Paper is given in Paul Addison's book, *The Road to 1945* (Quartet). It was drafted against a deadline — not the need to appear before the war was over, but before Sir William Beveridge published his own, more radical, full employment plans. So irate was Churchill at the challenge from Beveridge that he was banned from talking to civil servants on the subject.

The main protagonists within Whitehall were the Treasury, which distrusted Keynes's ideas as 'unhistorical, unimaginative and unscientific'; and, ranged against the Treasury, the economic section of the war cabinet. In one paper they wrote that if the Treasury 'view were to prevail the role of the state in respect of cyclical unemployment would be essentially passive . . . This conclusion seems to us unduly pessimistic'.

It is, then, hardly surprising that the battered document that Mrs Thatcher keeps pulling out of her handbag is so full of contradictory statements. Keynes himself — he was in the United States most of the time and played little part in the battles — provided the most appropriate epitaph on the White Paper. He recognised 'a praiseworthy groping towards the light', but deplored 'the undue timidity attributable to muddled thinking and the tenacity of error.' All Mrs Thatcher is doing when she quotes the bits she likes is repeating those tenacious errors. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

USING MINERS TO BUST THE UNION

The Notts NUM could split from the national union when the Area Council meets next week to consider motions put by the National Working Miners' Committee. Mark Hollingsworth exposes the role of the Tory Party and the Coal Board in supporting strike-breakers

THE CURRENT court action by working miners to sequestrate their union's assets and bankrupt the members of the NUM Executive comes after four months of bitter legal wrangling and intense political lobbying. What is less well-known, however, is the active involvement by the Conservative Party and Coal Board in advising and supporting individual strike-breakers and in the setting up of working miners' committees in order to crush the NUM.

Aided by Fleet Street, wealthy businessmen and sympathetic solicitors, the promotion of the working miners' committee has been the key strategy of the NCB and Conservative Party for breaking the strike and the NUM. In consequence, the strike has been seen as an issue of civil war within the coalfields, and a crisis of law and order rather than a conflict between union on one side and management and government on the other over unemployment and the future of coal-producing areas.

This use of the working miners is why the Coal Board has not itself taken legal action. The working miners have done the job for it, although NCB Chairman Ian MacGregor has helpfully put the rebel pitmen in touch with suitable lawyers in order to pursue the union in the courts. The Coal Board knows very well that if it sued the NUM, it would publicly make them party to the dispute, something which, during their long, silent summer, they wanted to deny. For the government's part, ministers have been able to sit back and sneer at 'Scargill's Strike', to quote Peter Walker, and use the dissident working miners as their Trojan horse.

THE ESTABLISHMENT of working miners' committees was discussed as early as April at a series of secret meetings at the Victoria pub, Stanton Hill, Mansfield, Nottinghamshire — even before the national ballot issue was resolved. In May, the Notts Working Miners' Committee was set up to 'reaffirm democracy within the constitution of the NUM but not to break or replace it'. And in the branch elections on 25 and 29 June the working miners' slate of candidates won major victories and secured a 27-4 majority on the Notts Area Council of the NUM.

However, they continued to hold secret meetings in Oxton, near Mansfield. This resulted in some dissent within the Notts Working Miners' Committee. Several members resigned and are now suspicious of the committee's motives. 'They're continuing it', said Colin Bottomore, branch secretary of Bentinck colliery, 'because their aim is to defeat the strike . . . and to bring the union to its knees. That's not my aim'.

Despite their triumph in Nottinghamshire, the strike-breakers were not being successful on a national level. In particular, because of the weakness of the right-wing members of the National Executive of the NUM, they lacked any coherent national leadership. In mid-July, the much-heralded return to work was not materialising and Arthur Scargill was predicting the 'greatest industrial victory in post-war history'. The government was worried. To make matters worse, the Coal Board admitted on 25 July that some form of

Mrs McGibbon, of the 'Miners' Wives Back-to-Work Movement', turns up on the platform at Tory conference (surprise, surprise)

domestic coal rationing might have to be introduced with the advent of winter.

However, within the space of two weeks, several working miners' committees had been set up all over the country, considerable sums of money were donated by individual business tycoons to pay legal costs and Chris Butcher (Silver Birch) had launched his own return-to-work crusade. In addition, the influential National Working Miners' Committee, which is currently instigating the appointment of a receiver to seize the NUM's assets, was set up.

The back-to-work campaign reached its zenith with a remarkable sequence of events one weekend in August. On Friday 10 August, Peter Walker, the Energy Minister, and Leon Brittan, Home Secretary, launched bitter attacks on Scargill's 'dictatorial leadership' and called on miners to cross picket lines. The next day the National Working Miners' Committee held its first informal meeting at the Castle Donnington Guest House, near East Midlands airport, with nine working miners present. Walker, Brittan and the Employment Minister, Tom King, then chose the following day (Sunday) to appeal to miners to return to work, courtesy of the BBC and the Sunday papers.

That same afternoon, the National Working Miners' Committee met again at the Longlands Farm, Knightwick, near Peter Walker's constituency in Worcester. Their host was Captain Edward Evans, a supporter of Moral Rearmament — the right-wing Christian revivalist group. Among those present at the meeting were Graham Turner, a *Sunday Telegraph* feature writer who is a friend of Evans, Colin Clarke, president of the committee and several other working miners.

Turner helped to draft a letter at the meeting which was sent to all striking miners throughout the country. It asked a number of rhetorical questions about the strike and concluded: 'Help us to fight for freedom and democracy. Funds are provided for members to take legal action'. As the letter was signed 'National Working Miners' Committee', it is clear that the claim that the committee only came into formal existence in September is untrue.

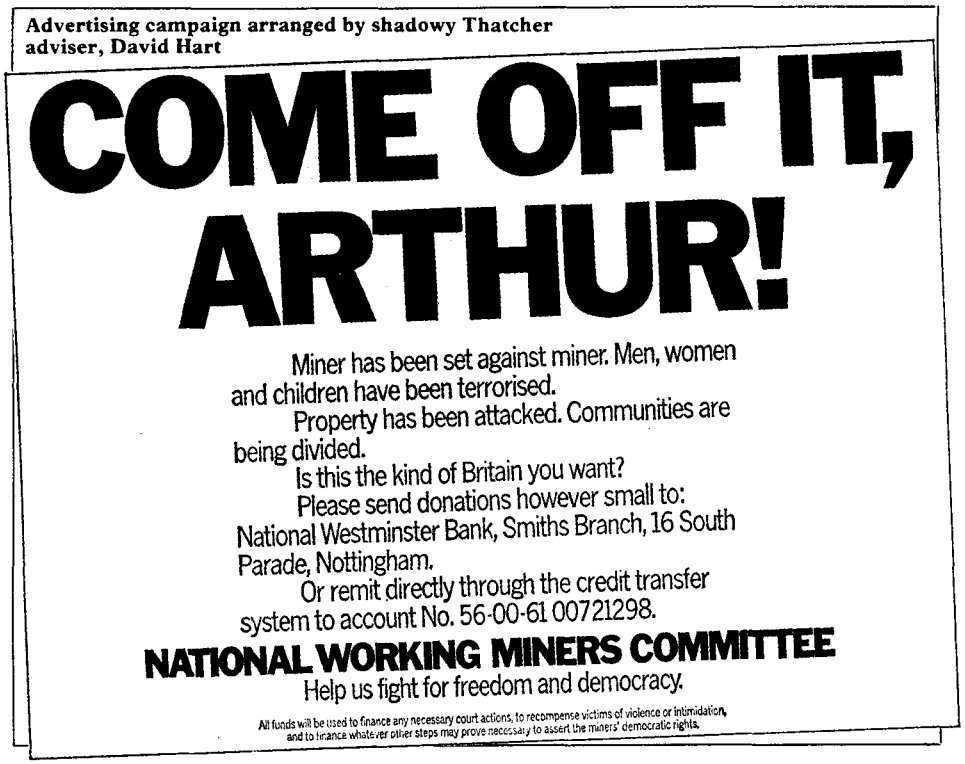
Turner's contribution did not end there. On the very same day, 12 August, he had an exclusive interview with Ian MacGregor published on the front page of the *Sunday Telegraph*. The Coal Board boss predicted a mass return to work. One remark was particularly revealing: 'I think Arthur Scargill's biggest problem is going to be the centre of his battle-line in Yorkshire. That is the place which is going to crack the quickest.' Meanwhile, over at the Green Dragon pub in Oxton, near Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, on that same Sunday afternoon, Chris Butcher was chairing a secret meeting of about 40 working miners — mostly from Yorkshire. After the meeting, Butcher said that a date for a mass return to work was fixed. 'It could be in the next few days or next week. We want to see how things develop'.

Clearly Ian MacGregor believed he had reason to hope that the working miners were poised on the edge of a newly forceful initiative. Perhaps his informants overestimated their support (if only to continue to receive the backing of those in high places). Two weeks later, on 30 August, Graham Turner took up the theme of the failure of the right-wing executive members to give national leadership — 'I'm really sick inside. How can we see all this violence and still sit and say nothing? We have a lot to answer for, because we've not had the courage', he quoted one as saying.

PERHAPS THE most significant feature of the working miners' committees has been the involvement of two Thatcher aides — Tim Bell and David Hart. Bell, a Saatchi and Saatchi director and close adviser to the Prime Minister, has been MacGregor's public

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertising campaign arranged by shadowy Thatcher adviser, David Hart


COME OFF IT, ARTHUR!
Miner has been set against miner. Men, women and children have been terrorised.
Property has been attacked. Communities are being divided.
Is this the kind of Britain you want?
Please send donations however small to:
National Westminster Bank, Smiths Branch, 16 South Parade, Nottingham.
Or remit directly through the credit transfer system to account No. 56-00-61 00721298.
NATIONAL WORKING MINERS COMMITTEE
Help us fight for freedom and democracy.
All funds will be used to finance any necessary court actions, to recompense victims of violence or intimidation, and to finance whatever other steps may prove necessary to assert the miners' democratic rights.

relations aide for much of the dispute. One of the working miners' committee brochures was written and designed by Bell in the Saatchi and Saatchi offices.

Hart's professional assistance to the working miners goes much further. He attended the very first meeting of the National Working Miners' Committee on 11 August and was also present on 19 August at Castle Donnington Guest House when the committee was formally launched. This latter meeting appointed Colin Clarke, a Notts miner, as president, John Blessington from Bevercotes pit, Notts, as treasurer and Bob Copping, a Yorkshire winder, became secretary.

The following Saturday these three met Hart in the Hambleton Hall luxury restaurant, near Oakham, Leicestershire. The hotel is owned by Tim Hart, David's brother, who used to work for Ian MacGregor in a company called Lehman Brothers, a New York merchant bank.

Three days later, on 28 August, the National Working Miners' Committee returned to Castle Donnington, with David Hart again present. It was here that the suspicions of the secretary, Bob Copping, were first aroused. 'He was introduced to me as the money man', says Copping. 'He was handing over sums of up to £300 in cash as floats. In my opinion, Hart was not acting as an adviser, he was running the show'. At that meeting, Copping argued that he, as secretary, should keep a record of all money received and spent. Hart replied that their solicitor, David Negus, should deal with all financial matters and that the Committee members were not required to sign cheques.

Copping became increasingly anxious about Hart's involvement and resigned on 5 September. 'It was turning into an anti-union organisation with a Conservative orientation . . . I am not prepared for Conservatives to come in under our cloak and undermine the trade union movement. I don't want to smash the NUM, unlike some on the Committee who are prepared to preach democracy to someone else but not to practise it themselves'.

David Hart is a wealthy property developer with his own business in Brook Street, in London's West End. He has close links with Downing Street, the Coal Board and Fleet Street. He first met Mrs Thatcher in 1980 at the annual dinner of the Centre for Policy Studies and has often boasted of his 'access to the Prime Minister'. Since June, 1983, Hart has also been an occasional columnist for *The Times*, which has described him as 'A Special Adviser to the Prime Minister'. His ties with Downing Street are informal, although he has been spotted at No 10 before Mrs Thatcher delivered one of her speeches eulogising the working miners.

Hart's links with the Coal Board chairman have a longer history. MacGregor has been a family friend for many years as Hart's father, a merchant banker, used to work with the NCB chief. Since the strike began David Hart has been in constant touch with MacGregor, advising him to rely on the working miners to break the NUM. Hart is regularly seen at the Coal Board's HQ at Hobart House. On 22 August he accompanied MacGregor to the Channel 4 debate with Scargill where he held up the script for the NCB boss and then advised that the debate be cut short.

It was Hart who, in mid-August, arranged for advertisements for the working miners to be published in the *Daily Express, Daily Mail* and later the *Sunday Times*. He also organised the aeroplane banner flying over the TUC Conference centre in Brighton — 'Come Off It Arthur' — on 3 September. On 13 September, Hart wrote a flattering article in *The Times* on the National Working Miners' Committee — 'Seeds of a Union Revolution'. He modestly declined to refer to his own involvement.

Hart now says he was only involved before the National Working Miners' Committee came into formal existence in, he says, early September — after several advertisements over their name appeared in the press. John Blessington, the new secretary, even denied knowing Hart. 'Did Hart attend those meetings? I don't know that he did'. However, according to Bob Copping's minutes, the Committee was set up on 19 August at Castle Donnington and Hart attended at least four meetings during that month, two of them after the 19 August meeting.

OTHER WORKING miners' organisations have also been anxious to cover up their links with the Tory government. Mrs Irene McGibbon is National Organiser of the Miners' Wives Back-to-Work Movement and her husband, Robert, is crossing the picket line at Betteshanger Colliery, near Deal, Kent. On 23 September, when asked whether her committee was a front for the Conservative Party, she replied angrily: 'No way are we lovers of Maggie Thatcher. All we want to see is miners have the right to decide their future for themselves through the ballot box'. Yet, both she and her husband are paid-up members of the Tory Party and Mrs McGibbon stood as a Conservative candidate in a council election in 1983. Within two weeks of her denial, Mrs ▷

ADIU REPORT

Bi-monthly journal of the Armament and Disarmament Information Unit, University of Sussex

ADIU, which is a part of the Science Policy Research Unit, is an independent organisation, set up in 1978 with the aim of promoting a more informed debate on defence and disarmament issues. Recent issues of **ADIU Report** have covered:

● Future British defence options ● Third generation nuclear weapons ● Soviet arms control violations ● Turkey and NATO ● India's nuclear potential ● Conference on Disarmament in Europe

Each issue also contains:

● coverage of British Parliamentary debates ● news of disarmament negotiations ● reviews of the latest books ● a comprehensive bibliography

ADIU also produces a series of **Factsheets** and **Occasional Papers.** Further details on request.

ADIU Report subscription rates (annual — six issues): UK £9; Overseas £12

Send your cheque/PO, payable to 'University of Sussex', to: **The Secretary, ADIU, Science Policy Research Unit, University of Sussex, Brighton BN1 9RF, Sussex, UK.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

McGibbon was receiving a standing ovation from the Tory Party conference with Thatcher joining in enthusiastically.

In Scotland one of the most prominent strike-breakers has been Harry Fettes, a management trainee at Bilston Glen colliery, near Edinburgh. In early September, Fettes was invited to a banquet attended by Mrs Thatcher at the North British Hotel, Edinburgh. He was introduced to the Prime Minister and warmly congratulated for his activities. Within three weeks, on 27 September, Fettes was the unsuccessful Conservative candidate in a Lothian by-election at Inch-Gilmerton. He was, until recently, the organiser of the Working Miners' Association at Bilston.

But Britain's most illustrious strike-breaker is undoubtedly Chris Butcher, alias Silver Birch. A former market trader and now a blacksmith at Bevercotes pit in Nottinghamshire, Butcher was hyped by *The Mail on Sunday* as 'The Bravest Man in Britain' (the striking miners have been depicted as 'Nazi Thugs'). Tory MPs have also been quick to offer their support. On 25 October, Silver Birch, along with Staffordshire miner, Trevor Morris, addressed a packed meeting of the Conservative employment backbench committee at the House of Commons. They found they agreed on virtually every aspect concerning the coal industry, except privatisation. □

Next week: where the money comes from and the working miners' Tory lawyers

POLITICS

OH YES! — UNEMPLOYMENT

Peter Riddell parts the undergrowth of the Tory backbenchers, and argues the grants revolt was an outlet for deeper worries

UNEMPLOYMENT is back at the top of the Conservative Party's political agenda. For the first time for three years there is now widespread and genuine unease among Tory MPs about the social and political implications of continuing unemployment at current levels.

More immediate political dramas, like the Brighton bomb outrage, or the government's impending 'victory' in the miners' strike (as it is seen by all but a small minority at Westminster), or the stirrings of the articulate middle class about overseas aid and student grants have tended to obscure this political sea change. But it has occured nonetheless.

It may seem odd, even grotesque, that unemployment has not always been at the centre of the political debate. But it has not, at least among Tories, since the winter of 1981-82. Mrs Thatcher had by then routed the 'wets' in the Cabinet — with the dismissal of Sir Ian Gilmour and the exile of Jim Prior to Belfast. And she had demoralised her backbench critics even before the Falklands War started in April 1982.

That war and its political aftermath, lasting until well after last year's general election, put the 'wet' critics on the defensive. They kept largely silent, recognising the futility of raising the standard of dissent among all the Union Jacks. Besides which, almost all the authors of the *Changing Gear* pamphlet of September 1981 — the Tamworth Manifesto of the younger wets — had been quietly absorbed into the anonymity and discretion of government.

Moreover, the economy recovered in 1982 and 1983, at least in the sense that output was rising. There was a consumer boom and unemployment appeared more or less to have stabilised. This might not satisfy Roy Hattersley's definition of a recovery — when unemployment should be on a falling trend — but it was sufficient to take the wind out of the sails of most of the strongest critics who had been predicting disaster in 1981.

The outlook has, of course, changed significantly since the summer, with the further sharp increase in underlying unemployment. Even Nigel Lawson, the Chancellor, had to admit to the Commons Treasury committee a fortnight ago that the Treasury has been consistently over-optimistic about the trend of unemployment.

This change in the political climate has been quickly registered. Within the Conservative Party the card carrying 'wets' — Edward Heath, Francis Pym, Ian Gilmour (and within the government, more obliquely, the fellow travelling Peter Walker) — have all spoken up with even greater frequency than in the past two and a half years. The significant feature is not particularly what they have been saying, but their common view that the time is right to step up the frequency and tone of their criticisms.

Yet these 'great men' speak as individuals. Edward Heath has alienated potential followers by his obvious personal bitterness against his successor; Sir Ian Gilmour is temperamentally no factional leader; and Pym has, so far at least, publicly eschewed the role and is, anyway, an instinctive loner. So there is no obvious cabal.

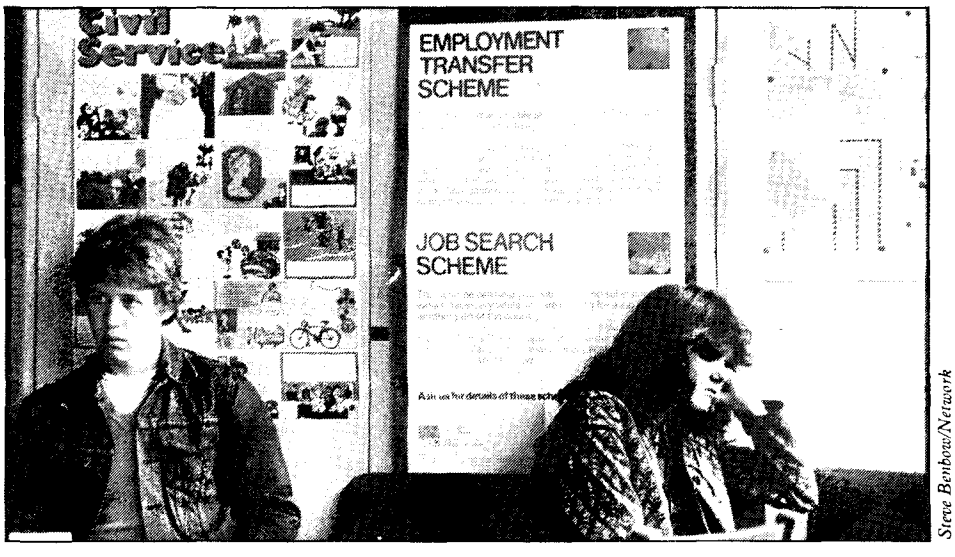
MORE SIGNIFICANTLY than the loud salvoes of these 'great men' have been the increased rumblings elsewhere. Discussion about economics among Tory MPs is seldom sophisticated, for all their business links. The unease has been expressed mainly in terms of general complaints that 'something has gone wrong' and that the government should respond.

There has been no apparent increase in support for the outright wet position. Most MPs accept, at least in theory, the government view that 'reflation' is not the answer and that public spending and borrowing should be restrained. Instead, two broad 'tendencies' have developed. (The word 'group' is inappropriate, since it implies a greater degree of organisation and co-ordination than currently exists.)

The smaller, but more influential, tendency has developed out of the loyalist camp. It consists of MPs who argue that the government has not gone far enough. On their view, if the British problem is rigidities on the 'supply' side of the economy, then the answer to high unemployment should be an acceleration of the process of 'deregulation'. These MPs are impatient with what they see as the wasted opportunities since the general election. They are now arguing in favour of the early abolition of wages councils and of moves to remove employment protection from young workers.

These are the policies put forward by the Adam Smith Institute and the Institute of Directors and have been supported in whole or part by a number of the 1983 intake of Tory MPs, including Michael Fallon, Michael Forsyth and Robert Jones (all from the free-market stable of St Andrew's University).

A larger, though more amorphous, tendency consists of MPs who believe that the government should be doing more directly to reduce unemployment. These MPs, both the more traditional Tories and the representatives of manufacturing areas, have put forward a variety of proposals, partly influenced by the fashion of the day. The current in-word is infrastructure — a concept most commonly used to mean spending money on renewing Victorian sewers. For instance, during last



Steve Benbow/Network

Tory MPs may not know anything about unemployment or economics, but feel that 'something has gone wrong'

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHO'S GETTING FAT ON THE LAND THAT SHOULD BE FEEDING THE HUNGRY?

Every day, thousands of Latin Americans go hungry while vast acres of their land produce crops for the rich world's consumers. The policy is called 'export cropping'. And it isn't confined to Latin America. It happens in Africa and much of Asia too.

In fact, export cropping is now practised so widely that it takes up more than a quarter of cultivated land in the Third World. Land that could be used by hungry families to grow their own food.

This lack of land leads to untold hunger and deprivation for literally millions. But what is equally disturbing is the role the economically developed world plays in encouraging this practice.

GREED

First comes greed. The rich nations, comprising 30% of the world's population, consume over 80% of its resources. (Not because they need to; the UK alone swallows over £500 million worth of slimming aids every year.*) But there is another kind of greed, equally unpalatable, that promotes increased export cropping.

Financial greed.

CRIPPLED

In 1973, the price of oil doubled twice. The poorer nations had no option but to borrow heavily from the banks of the industrialised world. These banks, overwhelmed with surplus funds from the oil-producing countries, channelled massive loans to Third World countries, and saddled them with floating interest rates.

These interest rates have since soared so high, they have crippled many of the poorer nations.

Today, the debt crisis continues. And in an attempt to stem the problem, Third World governments have been forced to step up export cropping.

In human terms, the sacrifices have been severe. The poor are scarcely able to feed themselves. They are trapped in an economy where inflation soars. And they face a daily struggle to survive.

Many don't. Every single day, 40,000 children die through hunger. Which is why Oxfam has launched its campaign.

HUNGRY FOR CHANGE

We've called it 'Hungry for Change'. And it stems from a conviction that change is not beyond our reach. Because by publicising the injustice of world hunger, we can attempt to penetrate the barrier of the rich world's indifference.

But we need your support.

HOW YOU CAN HELP

It may seem like an impossible task. But there are many ways you can help. They may only be small steps, but eventually they can lead to change.

First, arm yourself with the facts. (You'll find them in our information pack shown below.) When you're informed, spread the word. Talk to your friends, family and colleagues. We'll be inviting you to campaign with us. And we'll tell you how you can raise funds for projects designed to help the poorer people help themselves. Please give us your support.

And please fill in the coupon. Because every one of us has it within our power to help. But only together can we turn back the tide of hunger.

OXFAM

*Euromonitor Slimming Products Report 1982.

I AGREE THAT HUNGER IN THE WORLD IN 1984 IS AN OUTRAGE. I'D LIKE TO JOIN THE 'HUNGRY FOR CHANGE' CAMPAIGN. PLEASE SEND ME YOUR FREE INFORMATION PACK. Send to: Guy Stringer, Oxfam Room NS07 Freepost, Oxford OX2 7BR.

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

_____ POSTCODE _____ MEANWHILE I ENCLOSE A DONATION OF £ _____ FOR CREDIT CARD DONATIONS, RING 0865 56916.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

week's Commons debate on the economy, both City stockbroker Peter Tapsell and redneck populist Nicholas Winterton advocated selective capital investment programmes in preference to income tax cuts. This partly reflected the view that capital spending has a smaller negative impact on imports than tax cuts; as well as the crude belief that public capital investment is 'good' and private current expenditure is 'bad'.

Some of the more sophisticated backbenchers, however, have been sceptical about both income tax cuts and infrastructure spending. Instead, they have urged more direct action to hold down non-pay costs to encourage employers to hire more full-time workers.

This case has been most articulately expressed in a pamphlet produced last summer by Sir Philip Goodhart of the One Nation group, a dining club of the more up-market mainstream backbenchers, and in a recent speech by Nigel Forman, also a One Nation member. Sir Philip advocated the reduction of national insurance contributions to help workers in assisted areas, young people and the long-term unemployed, the encouragement of job sharing and an expansion of the Enterprise Allowance Scheme. Forman outlined similar measures, together with action to create more flexible housing and labour markets. Significantly, he also distanced himself from the outright wets by stressing the need for firm control of public spending and borrowing.

The recent, and continuing, series of Tory rebellions — overseas aid, the expansion of Stansted airport, local government and, most spectacularly, student grants — have been only indirectly related to these underlying economic worries. They have partly reflected the frustrations of powerless, and bored, backbenchers flexing their muscles on specific and diverse issues which affect middle class interests and consciences. Yet the rapidity and intensity of the upsurge over student grants can be seen as partly an outlet for the underlying unrest, an acceptable lightening conductor — even though the protests have embraced a wide spectrum, including some economic 'loyalists' as well as longstanding critics.

THESE SEPARATE revolts have developed in the past ten days into a wider questioning of the way in which the government takes its public expenditure decisions. Last week's Commons Treasury committee report on the autumn economic statement queried whether the current Whitehall mechanisms were adequate for determining expenditure priorities between departments. This reflected the concern not only of senior backbenchers — like Terence Higgins, the committee chairman, who made the apt comment that the government was 'turning every candle end into a banana skin' — but also, privately, of many Cabinet ministers.

The backbench revolts against public spending cuts in the Foreign Office budget and student grants have also been a reflection of what John Biffen, the Leader of the Commons, has described as a desire for consolidation rather than further radical change. Further evidence for this is the series of preemptive protests against widely rumoured, and leaked, possible tax changes in next Spring's Budget. Backbench motions have been put down against any imposition of tax on lump-sum pension payments and the extension of Value Added Tax to books, newspapers and children's clothing. If these strongly-backed protests succeed against both specific public expenditure cuts and a broadening of the tax base, then the Chancellor's room for income tax reductions will be correspondingly narrowed.

The government's response to these backbench stirrings has been a combination of impatience and a reaffirmation of the existing strategy. The Chancellor has stressed the importance of tax cuts — not on Keynesian grounds, but in order to 'increase incentives'. This would mainly be by raising the lower income tax threshold in order to widen the gap between those in and out of work, even though this would principally benefit part-time workers such as married women rather than male heads of household — the core long-term unemployed.

There has also been a much talked about further 'supply side' measure. Lord Young, the former chairman of the Manpower Services Commission, has been appointed as an 'under-lord' to co-ordinate work on small businesses, training and the young unemployed, while Mr Tom King, the Employment Secretary, is looking into whether there should be 'a shift in the balance of advantage from those with jobs to those without jobs'. In short, should 'employee protection' regulations be watered down and minimum wages reduced for young people? A package is likely in the Spring to encourage employers to take on more workers by removing costs and restrictions (though not via direct subsidies).

BACKBENCH CRITICS argue that this is merely tinkering at the margins, but little more is likely so long as the prevailing view is that there is little that the Government can do directly to reduce unemployment apart from 'assisting market forces'. Mr Lawson is almost fatalistic now — high unemployment will be with us for the foreseeable future and all that the government can do is take the sting out of it by containing public spending sufficiently to permit tax cuts.

Anyway, the hope in Whitehall is that, after the rapid rise in unemployment in the late summer, the total may now be rising more slowly. Ministers also believe that since the miners' strike has added to unemployment through its impact on output and spending power, the end of the dispute, when it comes, should stimulate economic activity and employment.

Unlike 1981, though, there are still few direct political pressures on the government. Backbenchers may moan and rebel on isolated issues, but they will not come together to defeat the government on its *central* economic strategy. Moreover, unlike 1981, the Tories are well ahead, not behind, in the opinion polls and continue to benefit from the divisions of the opposition parties. The mood could become more jittery, but only if the Tories start to do badly in by-elections.

There will not, however, be anything like a U-turn on the 1972-73 pattern — that still remains a dire warning in the minds of Mrs Thatcher and her ministers. More likely, despite the rhetoric, is a gradual drift upwards of public spending and more schemes of the type being considered by Lord Young and Mr King.

Like the good Tories they are, Mr Pym and Sir Ian Gilmour believe in allowing circumstances — the power of events — rather than open rebellion to change policy. And they already detect some covert movement. But any shift in economic policy will remain piecemeal and limited for as long as the Thatcher/Lawson team stays in charge. □

Peter Riddell is Political Editor of the Financial Times.

UNIONS

SISTERS AMONG THE BROTHERS

Kate Holman looks at the TUC Women's Conference

IS THE TUC Women's Conference 'controversial'? It's hardly the word many people might choose to describe the two days each March when 300 or so delegates assemble in some windswept seaside town to debate 'the problems of women and young persons'.

But this was precisely the word Ken Gill, Chairman (sic) of the TUC's Equal Rights Committee, selected in his report to the TUC Congress in September. The controversy, in effect, was first provoked a few years ago by attempts on the part of some unions — mainly smaller, white collar ones — to make reforms in the running of the conference. All such motions, except the demand for a bookstall, have been defeated each year; but often by increasingly narrow margins. They have included calls for workshops, for chairing to be taken in turns (until her recent resignation Marie Patterson of the TGWU chaired for 12 years), for a conference organising committee to be elected, and for a number of resolutions to be automatically debated by the full TUC.

They reflect a growing sense of frustration over the conference — set up 54 years ago to enable women trade unionists to 'state their own case and express their own difficulties' — which some women have condemned as 'obsolete' and 'sterile'.

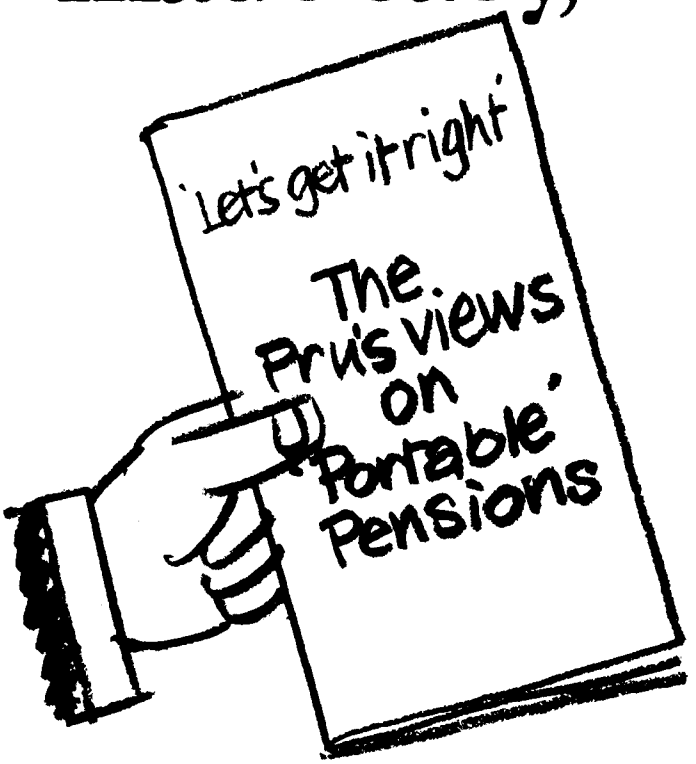
It is, at the least, unaccountable to the women it is supposed to serve. And it's part of the problem that very few of them know or care that their leaders will, over the next few weeks, be choosing motions on their behalf to put before the 1985 conference. Yet issues like the right to work, low pay, job opportunities and training, working hours and childcare are of vital importance to all women wherever they work.

For the truth is that most women are divided by arbitrary trade union barriers related not to the work *they* do, but to the role of the men they work with. Thus women doing very similar clerical tasks, are parcelled out into engineering unions, print unions, administrative, public service or general unions. Their membership is jealously guarded by each union to prevent them from competing with men in the same industry, to maintain the pre-eminence of the approved union administration, and to keep all

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Government's new 'portable' pension proposals.

All you need to know made easy, in one booklet.



The Prudential has produced a booklet. It's **free** and you should read it - soon.

It tells you about the Government's new proposals concerning 'portable' pensions and about some of their implications.

The main proposals

You will no longer be compelled to belong to your employer's pension scheme. (If he has one.) If you decide not to, you'll be able to take out your own personal pension scheme with an institution you have chosen. And then take it with you if you move your job. What has become known as a '**portable**' pension.

Some of the drawbacks

Our booklet also points out that your employer will not have to contribute to your pension directly as he does at present. And that a portable pension will not have the built-in life cover usually provided by an occupational scheme.

And, perhaps most important, the new arrangements would certainly lead to more complexity, and extra costs which would have to be shouldered by your employer - and you.

Why we've taken this advertisement

The Pru believes that you, and everybody else directly affected, should be aware of what is being proposed. That's why we've taken this space, and that's why we've published our special free booklet.

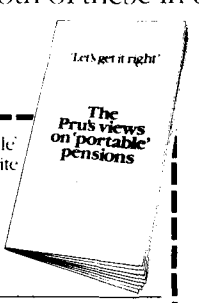
The Pru is the largest life and pensions firm in the UK. We handle both occupational pension schemes for great corporations and personal pensions for the individual. So whatever the Government decides to do, we are unlikely to be adversely affected. However, our very considerable experience has taught us a great deal of realism and objectivity. You'll find both of these in our booklet.

We also think you'll find it useful. And we hope it will stimulate a wide-ranging and thorough debate.

Get a copy, think it over - and then have your say. Let your MP know how you feel. After all, it's **your** pension we're talking about. And the changes are supposed to be for **your** sake.

For your free copy of "The Pru's views on 'portable' pensions", telephone: Teledata 01-200 0200, or write to Prudential (GP), Freepost, London EC1B 1PD.

Please be clear - this is a booklet for your information. There will be no follow up by the Prudential.



Name _____

Address _____

_____

_____

NS 14/12

PRUDENTIAL

Your pension. Let's get it right.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the pieces of the TUC jigsaw in their place.

THE WOMEN's TUC appears condemned to the worst of both worlds — both bureaucratic and powerless. Resolutions pass to the Women's Advisory Committee and the General Council, but are not binding. Exemplary policies agreed year after year have failed to make any real impact. Is the conference then, as far as the TUC is concerned, simply a mechanism for safely channelling and controlling women's aspirations so that the 'real' male trade union movement need not reckon with them?

The argument often used by TUC leaders against giving the women's conference more power — and used again in Brighton this year by Marie Patterson — is that it would threaten to become an 'alternative' TUC Congress, which would divide the movement. Rather, the role of the women's conference should be to provide a supportive and sympathetic forum for women to prepare the skills of oratory and debate needed for Congress. But in fact it doesn't perform this well either. In a body that lacks power, or clear purpose, the delegates have little opportunity to gain more confidence during its brief two days.

And there has been little impact on the number of women at Congress, either. This year, 13 per cent of delegates were women — just three per cent more than last year. This year there were *no* motions on the agenda specifically about women. Many women do battle on in their own unions year after year, but men are simply not willing to surrender their places on the Congress gravy train.

Would it be so divisive if delegates to the Women's TUC were allowed to set their own agenda, and debate all the issues women were concerned about? Is it because union leaders fear it might create a challenge, an alternative view of what trade unionism is all about?

Yet the Scottish TUC represents union members in Scotland, and, although subordinate to the TUC, can and does agree policies that conflict with Congress. The Welsh TUC has even less power than the STUC, but is open to non-Welsh delegates and can debate anything. And the most active of the regional councils themselves often operate in advance of TUC decisions.

WOMEN themselves are not unified on the changes they want. If the conference takes on any issue, what will characterise it as a 'women's conference', since male delegates are already admitted? Many women would not want to see this changed.

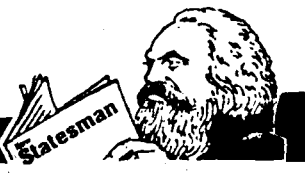
At present few men take the trouble to attend. But if the conference became more influential, with more power over the direction of the movement, what would stop the General Secretaries (almost all of them male) taking over the rostrum and totally changing the relaxed atmosphere of the conference?

Nor can it be claimed that delegations exclusively represent the views of women members. Most, if not all, unions have no 'women only' structure for choosing delegates and motions. The best that can be hoped for is some form of consultation with women's committees.

These problems do not mean it should be abolished. For many women it is their first opportunity to meet sister trade unionists from other sectors of the movement, to share common interests, and gain confidence. The number of delegates grows annually; and Nalgo, the only remaining major union with a sizeable women membership to abstain from the conference, has voted this year to participate.

It cannot be argued that women workers have achieved equality, and no longer need the forum of the women's conference. Perhaps nothing short of courageous reform will loosen

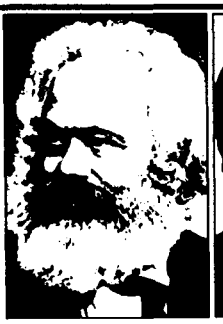
POLITICAL PUBLICATIONS



Advertise your political publications in this monthly page at special low rates. Contact Michael Roberts 01-253 2001 for full details.

Next feature 25 January

Marx & Engels Collected Works in fifty volumes



Volume 19: 1861-1864
now available

This volume contains a considerable number of Engels's writings on military affairs and Marx's *Contribution to the History of the Polish Question*. Written as the American Civil War was raging, there are numerous articles on the course of the war, as well as discussions of the slave mode of production.

£8.50 hardback (with maps)

Already available: vols 1-14; 16-19; 38-40

For a copy of our current catalogue please write to:

Lawrence & Wishart
39 Museum Street, London WC1A 1LQ

STATE OF SIEGE

POLITICS AND POLICING IN THE COAL FIELDS

JIM COULTER
SUSAN MILLER
MARTIN WALKER

£3.50

A powerful intervention countering the orchestrated barrage of force and propaganda directed by the state against the miners.

"...your report will help people to think about what is happening and hopefully join us in the fightback". Arthur Scargill (Pres.NUM)

STATE OF SIEGE
(ISBN: 0 9509967 0 X)
Canary Press 5th Dec84

HOUSMANS DISTRIBUTION
5 Caledonian Road
London N1 9DX
(usual trade terms)

MINERS' STRIKE 1984

SHIFRA
A Jewish feminist magazine

NO. 1 just out

Indiv. sub (4 issues)
GB: £6

Available from:

Box No. 2
59 Cookridge Street
Leeds 1

Free issue ★ Offer!

★ Outwrite
women's newspaper

News from women worldwide

Send off for your FREE issue and subscription details now, on form below.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

Outwrite, Oxford House, Derbyshire Street, London E2 6HG

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the stranglehold of men on the trade union movement. Should unions now be required to include a proportion of women in their TUC delegations; or the General Council restructured to make room for women nominees? The catch that may, in the end, either render the Conference sterile, or explosively angry, is that radical measures to shape unions round women workers as well as men would never be agreed by the TUC Congress, and the Women's TUC does not have the power to implement them. □

DISPUTE

WRONG GRADE FOR THE JOB

Geraldine Hackett on Ford workers' 16-year dispute

FORD's SEWING machinists have erected a neat canvas hut as shelter from the wind on the desolate stretch of road outside the car company's River plant at Dagenham. At this part of the huge Ford site, the road is only used by heavy lorries ferrying goods.

The sewing machinists are picketing their own plant to make sure the company does not attempt to bring in car upholstery from any of its European plants. The four-week-old strike by machinists — 140 at Dagenham and 135 at Halewood in Liverpool — has proved an effective spanner in the works. Car production has halted and Ford has laid off around 10,000 workers.

Ford is refusing to negotiate on the women's claim to be re-graded from unskilled to semi-skilled, relying on pressure from the men laid off (without pay) to get the women to return to work. This year's pay deal is waiting to be signed, and Ford is making clear that the extra money won't be in pay packets before Christmas if the women stay out.

But this time around, Ford may have miscalculated in assuming they can weather a strike by a small group of women. The sewing machinists have harboured a grievance over the grading of their work for 16 years — and the years have increased their determination to be ranked as semi-skilled, rather than unskilled. Back in 1967, Ford and its unions jointly set about a massive job evaluation exercise, with assistance from outside consultants. The machinists ended up in grade B — the same grade as the bulk of men on the production line — and there they have stayed.

In dispute is the marking of the skills needed by a machinist, and collusion between Ford and its unions over job ratings was suspected. For Ford to have put the women in a higher grade than production workers might well have sparked off a dispute with a key and powerful group of men.

Doreen King, one of the Dagenham shop stewards, says the job has become more skilled since the original rating — car seat covers and headrests are more complicated — often there will be 10 pieces to machine for one cover — and materials are harder to sew. 'We are staying out until our skills are recognised. The company refuses to bring in an independent assessor to look at the job. They are frightened of an outside expert,' she said.

Their present grade B gives them £121.33 gross a week, plus £7.60 attendance bonus. On grade C the women would get an extra £6.22 a week (plus the seven per cent agreed for this year's pay rise).

But for the women, acknowledgement that their work is skilled is as important as the extra pay in grade C. Their grading complaint comes up every year. Two years ago after the women had started an overtime ban they were promised that 'in this year's review of all jobs the relevant skills and requirements of the sewing machinists' jobs will be taken into account and given their due credit.' The review concluded the women did not meet the requirements of grade C.

Complaints about grading are dealt with before the annual haggle over pay begins. Ford insists that any outstanding grievances are abandoned for a year, or the pay deal is not signed. The procedure ensures there is pressure on the women to drop the claim so that Ford's 40,500 workers get their pay rise before Christmas.

The women's claim never makes it to the main pay claim, yet this year the Transport and General Workers' Union included in the main pay claim an extra allowance for the 13,688 production line workers in the same grade as the machinists.

The union pressed for an extra payment — equivalent to an extra hour's pay a day — in recognition of the pressure of work on the fast-moving line. Ford refused even to discuss the item — but did agree it could be discussed at

NEW FROM ZED ✱ NEW FROM ZED

Occupation: Israel Over Palestine

edited by Naseer Aruri

A thorough account of the Israeli occupation since 1967 covering the human, economic and demographic aspects.

PB £9.95 HB 24.95 480 pp

Available from bookshops or from

Zed Books
57 Caledonian Rd
London N1
Tel: 01-837 4014/0384

New Statesman booklets still available

UNWELCOME GUERRILLA

and

WHO CARES?
The Future of the NHS

Both £1.95 incl. p&p.

Orders with remittance to: Ted Peacock, New Statesman, 14-16 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU

THE PHILOSOPHY OF OPTIMISM

Get a boost for 1985 with a subscription to a Soviet journal

Asia and Africa Today	6 x p.a.	£6.00 per year
Moscow News	Weekly	£7.20 " "
New Times	Weekly	£7.20 " "
Far Eastern Affairs	Quarterly	£8.50 " "
Socialism: Theory and Practice	Monthly	£4.50 " "
Social Sciences	Quarterly	£8.50 " "
Soviet Military Review	Monthly	£12.00 " "
Soviet Union	Monthly	£6.00 " "
Soviet Woman	Monthly	£6.00 " "
Sputnik	Monthly	£7.00 " "
20th Century and Peace	Monthly	£3.00 " "
News from the Ukraine	Weekly	£6.00 " "

For copies of and subscriptions to these and many other interesting Soviet Journals, as well as Books and Melodiya Records for the USSR, visit:

Collets

International Shop
129-131 Charing Cross Road
London WC2H 0EQ
Tel: 01-734 0782/3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

next year's pay talks. Both unions and Ford agree that the job evaluation scheme does not allow for changes in jobs over the years. Other frustrations have built up. The TGWU favour extra payments for the skills involved in using new technology.

There is no agreement on the shape of a revised pay structure. But should Ford agree to the production workers being given an extra payment, it would effectively mean that the sewing machinists would be the main group left on grade B rates.

Steve Hart, the district TGWU official, says the women's case is accepted by the men who work at Ford, and that attitudes have changed since 1968. 'In this dispute, men are laid off without pay, but there is not pressure on the women to return to work,' he said. The claim for an extra payment for production workers was not a sectional claim, but reflected payments paid on the continent, he said.

The union has proposed two solutions to the dispute. Ford management rejected the first, for independent assessment of the skills, on the grounds that no one outside Ford is competent to assess them. They also rejected the proposal to re-organise the machinists' job to include repair work that is graded at the C rate, and currently done exclusively by 20 machinists.

Hart insists the union has pressed the women's case. 'We have argued the job is harder; that the women are susceptible to joint strain that leads to tenosynonitis and that the job evaluation scheme should have rated the markings for physical effort and eye and hand co-ordination higher.'

Earlier this year, the machinists took their case to an industrial tribunal, but the case was rejected on the grounds that the women had failed to show the original job evaluation scheme discriminated on grounds of sex. The trade union nominee, Maurice Lebour dissented from the majority verdict, pointing out that the original scheme was carried out at a time when it was still legal to pay women less than men (the women then got 85 per cent of the lowest men's rate). He thought it significant that Ford had failed in attempts to re-train men to do the machinists' work.

An appeal is to be heard by the Employment Appeal Court, but that is not likely to happen until next year, and it might be years before the legal process is complete. The women have decided they are not going to wait. 'We're out this time until we win,' said King. □

This England

£3 book tokens for entries printed. (On postcards, please.)

□Asked why she'd driven over her husband, Gwen Wright, 34, of Pencarrow Place, Fishermead, replied: 'It was a lack of communication really. I didn't think he'd stay on the ground when I was revving up the engine. He didn't think I'd run him over.' — *Milton Keynes Mirror on Sunday* (Peter Barnes)

□A puzzled looking, slightly dejected wallaby was seen at Assenden, while another at Fawley was initially mistaken for a local man waiting for his paper. — *Henley Standard* (W. Hodges)

The most boring subject in the world

Mary Holland

DID YOU KNOW that the Greek prime minister, Andreas Papandreou, stormed out of last week's summit meeting of EEC heads of government and that it was only because Bettino Craxi rushed out and begged him to calm down that he agreed to return to the negotiating table? It seems that the Italian premier urged him to reconsider on the grounds that if the ancient civilisations couldn't stick together, what hope would they have against the Barbarians from the North?

No, I didn't read about it in any of the British press either, though there were rumours about Papandreou at the time and it does seem to fit with the sort of noises the Greeks have been making since. This particular piece of drama came from a long article about Papandreou's problems in a *Swiss* paper. It does make me wonder, not for the first time, why the Common Market always seems like the most boring subject in the world, at least as it gets reported in our media.

I dropped into last week's EEC summit in Dublin Castle, not because of any consuming interest in the wine lake, but to see what Mrs Thatcher looks and sounds like when she is in a determinedly conciliatory mood. For most of the time we sat around the well stocked bars which pass for corridors of power at all such conferences. The rumours were presumably of much the same quality at the Congress of Vienna. Had Papandreou really walked out and left for Athens? Would he be painted out of the Photo de Famille, the statutory photo call which takes place at 9.30 every morning when the Community's heads of state push and shove to get a good position?

What would happen to the Spaniards now? Was Kohl really defending his wine producers' time-honoured custom of adding sugar to their wine rather than 'must' (concentrated grape juice) on the grounds that what was at stake here was not mere technology but a way of life involving whole communities who were being put at risk? Why was Kohl being so rotten to the Greeks anyway, when all the EEC bureaucrats admitted that Papandreou had been promised an extravagantly good deal on IMPs* to help him with his own electorate. A journalist, whom I assumed from his accent was representing the classier echelons of the BBC but turned out to be German, said vehemently across the table: 'I never thought I'd say it but I'm really proud of him. At long last he's saying "sorry chaps but the paymaster just isn't going to shell out any more".'

Why does all this raw political passion never come across to us from the media? Or perhaps it does, but like 99 per cent of people I don't know an ECU from an IMP and my eyes glaze over whenever I see any of the EEC initials in a headline. The journalists themselves, at least the British ones, seem to admit defeat before they even start filing their pieces. The permanent Brussels correspondent of a British quality paper which 'should care' said to me despondently: 'It isn't just the feeling that the readers aren't interested in anything you write, it's the complete indifference in the paper itself.'

Yet as a group in Dublin last week the correspondents seemed vividly interested, engagingly eager to explain to any passing EEC illiterate like myself the exact problems the Germans were having over wine and what a cunning game the Italians were playing. It's still puzzling why so little of that enthusiasm and verve comes across in the printed page.

As so often, the *Financial Times* people led the pack, both in enthusiasm and easily comprehensible expertise. Quentin Peel, almost dancing with enthusiasm, was a mine of information to anyone who asked him a question and Ivo Dawnay even managed a few jokes.

Worst of all were the editorials, which were marked by that awful leaden sense of demoralisation that sets in when the writer is clearly motivated just by duty. Here for example is an extract from a *Guardian* leader, chosen not because it is particularly good or bad, but merely all too typical: 'Assuming perhaps precariously, that the aforementioned Gordian knots do not provoke another paralysing crisis, we may cautiously identify the most important subject on this week's agenda as the future of the Community upon which crucial decisions must be made.'

All this must be due, at least in part, to a sense of journalistic isolation. Should correspondents covering the EEC (or other highly technical areas of politics) cater only to a small group of already well informed readers, or should they try and make it interesting to a much wider audience, however daunting that task? To do this, of course, would take a much broader view of politics than most journalists either have or want to have. Several of the regular Brussels correspondents said to me nostalgically how much they missed John Palmer (of the *Guardian*) because, even when they didn't agree with his views, they felt stretched and stimulated by the way he came into a press conference prepared to fight over the political issues.

And yet. I was discussing this with an EEC official who looked at me speculatively and remarked that the community had a huge budget to bring journalists to Brussels. Perhaps I'd like to go. Why did my heart sink and a cold shiver go down my spine as I tried to think of excuses. The Congress of Vienna is all very well, but what if nobody wants to read about it? □

*Integrated Mediterranean Programmes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

G K Chesterton

P G Wodehouse

H G Wells

Arnold Bennett

60 YEAR OLD Low SKETCHES

This Christmas we are able to offer a set of four Low sketches of literary figures — **G K Chesterton, P G Wodehouse, H G Wells** and **Arnold Bennett.**

Each sketch was printed by the **New Statesman** on high quality paper in 1926 (Chesterton in 1933). They measure approximately 9" × 13" and are ideal for mounting and framing.

The price of a complete set is £20, inclusive of VAT, postage and packing. There are only 150 sets so please do not delay in placing your order.

Return the attached form with your cheque/credit card number to:

Low Print Offer
New Statesman
14-16 Farringdon Lane
LONDON
EC1R 3AU

Please send a set of 4 literary sketches by Low to the following address:

Name .....

Address .....

.....

..... (BLOCK CAPITALS PLEASE)

Please tick

☐ I enclose my cheque for £20 (pay to New Statesman)

☐ Charge my Access Account .....

☐ Charge my Visa Account .....

☐ Charge my American Express Account .....

.....

Signature ..... Date .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DIARY

Alison Hennegan

Cambridge

For reasons which I won't bore you with here, the outside world and I have had little to say to each other for the past few weeks. Occasional rumbles have reached me and the cat and some even lightened our gloom. But what finally made me decide I could perhaps bear to consider surfacing once more was hearing about the don at the Miners' Benefit who, gazing with distaste at a group of right-wing undergraduates chanting 'Back to work!', suddenly recognized a pupil and pounced, saying 'Have you *done* that essay yet?' He hadn't, of course. *Fiat justitia*, as we say here, or up yours.

○

All of which made me feel perky enough to get through the front door and go down into town for the first time in ages. No one stopped me to ask the way to the university. No one stood outside the Catholic church confidently informing an awed audience that this was the world famous chapel of King's College. No moral dilemmas for me about whether to shut up in the name of Kindness or speak out in the cause of Truth. In short, the tourist season is over at last.

○

On the way to the bank I make a short diversion via the noticeboard of Great St Mary's, the University Church. Since Mr Gummer's recent Conservative Party Political Broadcast, transmitted from the pulpit, I check forthcoming events with care. This Sunday, I see, we're playing (presumably) safe with the chaplain of Girton. I missed Mr Gummer and, unworthy though it sounds, I'm really rather glad. Registering impassioned discontent in church is very tricky. Hurling stools isn't my style and long flown are my impetuous twenties when, without a qualm, I took my happy part in disrupting a Festival of Light rally in All Souls, Langham Place. These days, I tell myself, cowardice masquerading as caution, something more dignified is needed. But what? I'd better give Girton's chaplain a miss, too, just in case.

○

With enforced virtue (the Bank Manager's Clerk has once again withdrawn credit facilities) I pass by one of the market's numerous bookstalls, pausing only long enough to note that in order for *quite* so many of a famous publisher's April 1985 titles to be already available at half price, somebody's reps must be ripping him off again.

○

In the bank I make my usual Lost Cause stand and demand £1 notes, not coins. Women cashiers, I notice, always smile kindly, let me have the notes and tell me most customers feel as I do. The men try to force me to accept the coins, arguing that I'll *have* to have them next year, anyway. Their underlying principle seems to be, if something nasty's on the way we might as well have it as soon as possible. The women seem to prefer to leave me free to choose for as long as I can. Back in the street and immersed in the elaboration of a tempting, new (if essentialist) theory on gender differences, I skid into this year's civic Christmas tree and note sadly that the real live carol singers over in the market square haven't a hope against the taped ones coming through the public address system.

○

Round the corner and outside my very favourite bookshop I'm waylaid by *A Girl in Spring-Time*, by Mrs Henry Mansergh (1905). Frontispiece illustrations from turn-of-the-century girls' books are the nearest I come to allowing myself pin-ups — and this one's a peach. A winningly sinuous blonde *Backfisch*, all Louis heels and black velvet bows, twines herself trustingly round a tall, dark, beautiful and *s-t-r-r-r-o-n-g* woman: 'Mildred took hold of Miss Margaret by the arm and rubbed her curly head against her shoulder.' The Principal of Impington Sunday School presented this copy to Violet Juby at Christmas, 1906 ('1st Prize in 1st Class: Girls'). Even so, I don't think Customs and Excise would approve of my response. Just as well Gay's The Word's second-hand section never tried to import the American edition.

○

Inside the shop customers queue to sign *Publishing News*'s petition (yet another fresh sheet begun today) against the introduction of VAT on books and learned journals. I ask the bookseller if he saw a recent letter in *The Times*, written by a Local Worthy who holds high university office and owns a small publishing house. In irritatingly *de haut en bas* tones he had instructed the nation not to panic and urged it to reject all cries against 'A tax on knowledge'. With raised eyebrows and pursed lips the

bookseller and I gaze at each other and nod our heads meaningly. 'Just wait until his rep comes in here with a long list of his remainders. . .' says the bookseller with restrained menace. I make a note to try to be there.

○

And now that I have at last rejoined the outside world, I am perplexed to find that many of my gay male friends have developed the alarming habit of gazing stonily into the middle distance while drumming their fingers ceaselessly on flat surfaces. Tactful enquiries reveal the reason. For these are the eyes that once eagerly scanned the Clues, these the fingers that once gripped the pencil speeding to fill in the Answers to *The Times*'s Crossword Puzzle. Nevermore. Not, in fact, since that increasingly disreputable rag went out of its way to find room in an already tightly crammed third leader on AIDS to take a gratuitous swipe at all those distasteful and offensive gay men. Top Gay People no longer read *The Times*. Meanwhile I wistfully await future leaders on the noisome irresponsibility of active heterosexuals who so flagrantly trail in their wake thrombosis, prolapsis and cervical cancer. Ah well, I can dream, can't I?

ROGER WODDIS

No cause for concern

Eldon Griffiths, parliamentary adviser to the Police Federation, has said that apparent tampering with his mail was the result of machinery going wrong and that telephone interference was caused by trees outside his home coming into contact with telephone wires.

'Why are you mopping your brow so?
Why are you looking so pale?
Why do you think a government fink
Is tampering with your mail?
Who would want to decipher
A message from Bude in Braille?'

'Nobody wants an enquiry,'
(He said as he nudged my knee).
'No one need flap at a telephone tap
Or write to their own MP.
It's purely a matter of wiring
And pruning a chestnut tree.'

Bury your head in the crossword,
Savour your cinnamon toast;
Silly to moan at clicks on the phone
Or minor delays in the post.
It's only the wind in the shutters —
Or possibly Orwell's ghost.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RISING STAR OF THE KREMLIN

Mikhail Gorbachev, heir apparent to General Secretary Chernenko, visits London next week as head of a delegation from the Supreme Soviet, invited by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. But clearly the British government is interested in this man on his way up. Stephen Cohen questions whether he will in fact make it to the top

FRUSTRATED by two decades of conservative rule, and by almost a decade of aged and infirm leadership at the top, reform-minded Soviet officials are now, as reports from Moscow put it, 'waiting for Gorbachev' — Mikhail Gorbachev, who at 53-years-old is the current heir apparent to Konstantin Chernenko and twenty years his junior.

Rarely, if ever, have Soviet reformers put their hopes so squarely on one contender in a succession struggle that still lies ahead, and in which they will play no direct role. They have done so out of two widely held convictions.

First, reformers believe that the only solution to the country's economic problems is fundamental change toward decentralised management, more incentives for industrial workers and a larger role for private enterprise and other market factors in agriculture and in consumer services. Second, they are now convinced that such reforms are politically impossible until the reigning generation of Soviet leaders, enfeebled men in their seventies who began their careers under Stalin, are replaced by a vigorous post-Stalin generation that is less tied to the past, better educated, and thus more competent to govern in the 1980s.

Equating generational change with policy change, reformers are counting on Gorbachev, even though the extent of his innovative views remains concealed behind the outward conformity of 'collective' leadership. In various public and private ways, Gorbachev has indicated a preference for several of their proposals. According to reports, he has even privately expressed interest in Lenin's New Economic Policy, which 'marketised' the entire Soviet economy of the 1920s. Changes of that kind, introduced in Eastern Europe since the 1950s and now underway on a massive scale in China, are the real goal of many Soviet reformers.

But it is Gorbachev's unusual political career that really captivates reformers. With degrees in both law and agronomy, he is, at least formally, the best educated member of the Soviet leadership since the 1920s. More important, his rapid rise to the top has been spectacular in a system where snail-like ascents through the bureaucracy are now the custom and where able 60-year-old officials languish in subordinate posts.

Until 1978, when he was suddenly brought to Moscow to be a national secretary in charge of agriculture, Gorbachev was an obscure party boss in his native province of Stavropol. Within two years, he had become, at 49, the youngest full member of a Politburo whose median membership age was over 70. His range of top-level duties continued to expand during the last years of Leonid Brezhnev and the short tenure of Yuri Andropov, even though responsibility for the chronically ill farm sector had been the ruin of other rising politicians.

Andropov's death, in February, left a leadership composed almost equally of the Stalinist and post-Stalin generations. The emergence of the septuagenarian Chernenko as the new General Secretary clearly involved a generational compromise making Gorbachev the second ranking member of the Secretariat. Full

Camera Press

Gorbachev: Number Two Soviet leaders have a low survival rate

membership on both the Politburo and the Secretariat has always been a prerequisite for becoming General Secretary. Since only one other oligarch, 61-year-old Grigory Romanov, currently has that qualification, Gorbachev is in a strong position to become the next Soviet leader.

BUT THE RISKS inherent in the position are almost equal to its powers. Number Two Soviet leaders have fared less well than have American vice-presidents. Neither Stalin, Nikita Khrushchev, nor Andropov ever occupied that position. And though Brezhnev became Khrushchev's heir apparent, he succeeded only because others had fallen by the way, and because he supported Krushchev's overthrow.

Not surprisingly, Gorbachev is already the target of rival pretenders and powerful groups with different policy interests. His opponents managed, for example, to downplay his pivotal role at the Central Committee meeting that selected Chernenko. And he did not even address the Central Committee plenum on agriculture in October, which endorsed policies unlike his own. Anti-Gorbachev forces, it seems, are rallying behind Romanov, a more conventional, hardline politician with strong ties to the military-defence industry lobby, and who is widely disliked by reformers.

Even if a reform-minded Gorbachev does one day emerge as General Secretary, he will not automatically have the power to carry out real economic changes against conservative opposition dug in throughout the system. Unlike American presidents, every General Secretary has needed at least five years just to consolidate power and to build personal authority. And no Soviet leader since Stalin has ever been able to impose his personal policies on the Politburo, which has grown into an executive council representing a variety of vested interests, nor on the recalcitrant administrative bureaucracy that must implement any policy changes.

Nor will Gorbachev actually have the full support of his generation. Because of the extreme aging of the governing elite during Brezhnev's 18-year rule, generational conflict is playing a far greater role in Soviet politics today than ever before. But there is no united political generation, in the Soviet Union or elsewhere. Generations may rise to power, but once there, they are always divided by conflicting ambitions, values, and perspectives on the status quo.

The post-Stalin generation, which actually found a patron in the much older Andropov, will be no exception, only more vigorous. A recent Western study found, for example, that Gorbachev's contemporaries at the level of provincial party secretaries, from whom will come the next ruling elite, are 'polarized' between those who are complacent and those who are impatient with existing policy — that is, between conservatives and reformers.

None of this means that another era of reform from above, as occurred under Khrushchev, is impossible. Only that the solution does not lie in generational change alone, and that like the chimerical saviour in Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, Gorbachev may not come. □

Stephen Cohen is professor of politics at Princeton University and writes for The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GIVE THEM ENOUGH ROPE

US policy has been to wait for Greeks to 'get socialism out of their system'. As Claudia Wright reports, it hasn't worked out

Athens

IN ATHENS the US embassy building is a square grey blockhouse on Vassilis Sofias Avenue, a few hundred yards from the Hilton Hotel and the museum that the Junta built to celebrate Greece's past military glories. Between the Megaro Maximou, the formal office of the prime minister, and Andreas Papandreou's preferred workplace, his home at Kastri, a flying phalanx of security cars and outriders carries the prime minster down this road and past the embassy almost every day.

It is a visible reminder of the warning that a former US ambassador to Greece issued in October 1981, immediately after Papandreou's election victory. The ambassador said that it wasn't necessary for the US to worry about Greek socialism. It was better, he said, for the Greeks to 'get change out of their system [and] the socialist experiment over with in a couple of years'. The election of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), he went on, would help rejuvenate New Democracy, the main Greek conservative party — give Papandreou enough rope, the ambassador predicted, and he would hang himself.

Three of the four years of Papandreou's parliamentary term are now over; and he is preparing for general elections — by October 1985. The predictions on which Reagan Administration strategy towards Greece was initially based have not been fulfilled. New Democracy is sharply divided between callow, gun-toting young thugs and representatives of the respectable bourgeoisie, who abhor disturbances of law and order. Constantine Mitsotakis, the opposition leader, demonstrably failed during the Euro-election campaign earlier this year to show that he can rejuvenate the party or win enough votes to oust PASOK. Even if economic conditions grow worse for most Greeks next year — as some economists predict — Mitsotakis doesn't appear to have the stuff Greeks will vote for. Papandreou does.

This is a source of considerable frustration for US officials in Athens and Washington; as they begin to contemplate the likelihood of another four years of Papandreou, the frustration is beginning to show with increasing sharpness. Part of the problem for the Americans is that Papandreou is far shrewder than they expected — more resilient under pressure and more Byzantine by half than Greek prime ministers, or American university professors of economics, are usually supposed to be.

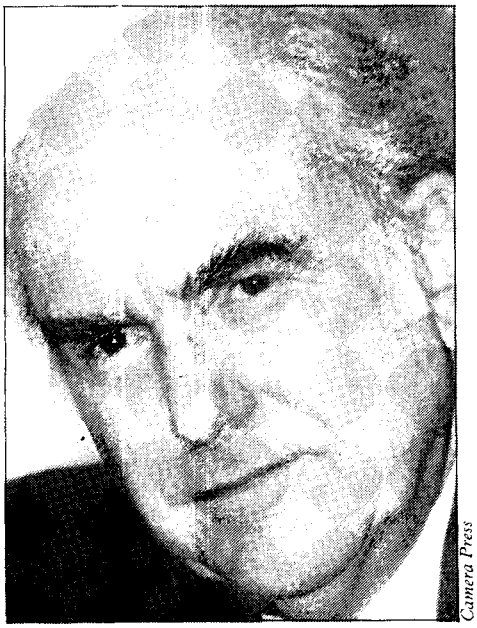
The other part of the problem is that US officials and their friends in the press have misled themselves in their judgment of Papandreous's foreign policies. While trying to reawaken civil war anxieties and attacking him as an anti-NATO, pro-Soviet leftist, they have failed to understand that, in Greek terms, Papandreou's policies reflect a popular calculation of what will serve the country's fundamental national interests. The Americans have overestimated Athenian cynicism and underestimated Hellenic pride. What they now find genuinely threatening to US policy in Europe is the possibility that Papandreou's nationalism, not his socialism, might spread.

Papandreou had determined detractors in Washington from the start — the most important of them Pentagon and CIA men who prompted US and allied military planning groups to consider replacing Greek military resources with comparable ones in Turkey, Italy or Israel. At first, the Administration consensus was to treat Papandreou gingerly, accordingly to the strategy of 'enough rope', but after the signing of the US-Greece agreement on defence and economic cooperation, there was less inhibition against direct confrontation.

The pact, which was signed in September 1983, provided American negotiators with the five-year continuation of US military bases on Greek territory that they had sought, but left vague what would happen in 1987-88, when the base issue may be renegotiated. The quid pro quo was an American commitment to provide technology and investment for Greece's defence industry; permission for Greece to export arms and material produced with US patents to third countries; and support for the Greek armed forces by 'preserving the balance of military strength in the region'. That last phrase, buried in Article VIII of the agreement, was crucial because it explicitly bound the US not to enhance Turkey's military power to Greece's relative disadvantage. The agreement didn't decide what is to be done with US nuclear weapons — most of them now obsolete — which were installed in Greece by secret agreement with past conservative governments. Papandreou has said that this will be decided only after negotiations for a Balkans nuclear-free zone are complete.

PAPANDREOU'S CONCESSION on continuing the bases, overriding PASOK's proclaimed pre-election policy, suggested to Washington that he was vulnerable to US pressure; on the other hand, the US concession on the five-year formula and on the military balance between Turkey and Greece allowed Papandreou time and leverage to test American intentions.

In the past year there is little Reagan Administration officials have *not* tried in their campaign against the prime minister. An invitation for him to visit Washington after the pact was completed was cancelled at the last minute, as his party was packing its bags. In retaliation for Greek support of the PLO and for Papandreou's support of the Arab states against Israel, there has been a virtual embargo on orders for Greek-made shoes by the major New York import houses.



Camera Press

Papandreou: subtle tactics

Israel cut back on visits to Greek ports by Israeli cruise ships and Israeli tourism to Greece has dropped 18 per cent in the past year. In an attempt to extend this embargo on tourism to Americans who make up a tenth of Greece's annual tourist trade, the *Wall Street Journal* reported in June that alleged Arab terrorists based in Athens made all airline travel into Greece potentially hazardous. The shoe embargo has hurt; the more important tourist trade has so far been unaffected; for the first nine months of this year, US tourists increased by 16 per cent over the same period in 1983.

Greek officials believe that other domestic disruptions may have had outside inspiration as part of a campaign of economic destabilisation. A protest by Greek housewives against government policy, organised along the lines of the pot-banging demonstrations in Chile of 1972-73, fizzled out quickly; while in another throwback to the campaign against the deposed Chilean president Salvador Allende, a stoppage by lorry owners and drivers failed seriously to disrupt the national road system after pro-government hauliers broke the strike. An unexplained rash of bombings in Athens last month raised internal tensions and may have discouraged foreign visitors.

When Richard Perle, the Assistant Secretary of Defense who is Turkey's principal advocate within the Administration, visited Papandreou at Kastri recently, he warned that American military assistance to Turkey directly served US interests. He was emphatic that the Administration would not allow this aid to be cut or held hostage by Greece's supporters in Congress. Each year since 1981 they have rallied to cut the Administration's requests for increased payments to Turkey. This year only an intense lobbying effort prevented the enactment of statutory conditions tying this aid to the withdrawal of the Turkish troops occupying Northern Cyprus.

With each fresh move against Greece by the Administration, Papandreou has developed more subtlety in his tactics. The negotiations for the purchase of new aircraft for the Greek air force were carefully designed to create several hundred million dollars worth of incentives for the Administration to honour the terms of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WIN A HOLIDAY FOR 2 WORTH OVER £1000

Take out a Christmas subscription to **New Statesman** for yourself or for a friend and you could win:

1st PRIZE

EITHER a month travelling by coach and train through Hungary, Russia and China, with over a week in Peking

OR a fortnight in Cuba, flying from the UK to Havana, touring Cuba for a week, followed by a week at a resort of your choice

50 2nd PRIZES

A set of 50 assorted Leeds postcards

100 3rd PRIZES

A copy of **Unwelcome Guerrilla**, an anthology of pieces by and about George Orwell, originally published in the NS

EVERY NEW SUBSCRIBER WILL RECEIVE AS A GIFT A SET OF FOUR BRETECHER PRINTS

HOW TO ENTER

All you have to do is take out a six-month UK subscription to the *New Statesman* for yourself or a friend. **IT COSTS ONLY £15.**

YOU WILL AUTOMATICALLY ENTER THE PRIZE DRAW WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE IN FEBRUARY 1985. The name of the winner of the 1st prize will be published in the *New Statesman* on 22 February 1985 and the names of the other prizewinners will be available on request.

To take out a six-month subscription and to take part in the draw please complete the form below and send it with your remittance to **Cecilia Milton, New Statesman, 14-16 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU** (please make cheques payable to New Statesman).

Please print clearly

Date subscription to start .....

Your name/address .....

.....

Name/address of recipient (if different from above).....

..... **XM4**

Please use a separate sheet of paper if you wish to take out more than one subscription.

Notes: Employees of The Statesman & Nation Publishing Co Ltd and of Comedia, the company organising the draw, and their relatives are not eligible for this draw. **All existing UK subscribers to *New Statesman* as at 31 January 1985 will automatically take part in the draw.** Readers taking out a Christmas subscription must be UK residents to be eligible for the draw.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1983 agreement. Greece will buy 40 Mirage-2000 aircraft from France and 40 F-16's from the US manufacturer, General Dynamics. Co-production in France of components of the two planes, transfer of technology to Greece for the aircraft and for other General Dynamics military hardware (infantry vehicles, anti-aircraft missiles) have also been discussed as part of the initial contract.

Greek critics have called the aircraft purchase economically burdensome and militarily unsound, but they concede that as a political move it may produce a better deal for Greece than either Turkey or the other European allies that have bought the F-16 (Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark and Norway) have been able to get. The payoff for Greece depends on whether the offsets for the aircraft purchase — local production licensed by General Dynamics — will lead to the military export sales Papandreou is counting on. To induce the US government to grant the necessary export licenses, Athens has attached a lucrative bonus to its aircraft contracts. After the initial orders are filled, Papandreou (who also holds the defence portfolio) has indicated that he may order another 20 aircraft from either the French or the Americans — depending on who implements their 'offset' pledges more effectively.

REAGAN ADMINISTRATION officials don't like being held to this kind of test. They are also annoyed at the move Papandreou has just made to drive a wedge between the European NATO members on the one side and the US and Turkey on the other. At issue is the status in NATO's military plans of Lemnos, a Greek island in the Aegean close to the north of the Dardanelles and Turkey.

As long ago as 1936 the Turks formally acknowledged Greek sovereignty over the island and Athens's right to garrison it. General Evren's regime, however, insists there is now no such right. Greece has reacted by refusing to join NATO military exercises that, in order to avoid Turkish ire, omit Lemnos. This year, as the NATO members routinely reviewed their troop commitments to the alliance for 1985, Papandreou made an unexpected proposal. Reponding to American pressure for NATO members to do more to provide for the non-nuclear defence of Europe, Greece offered to increase its forces assigned to NATO by adding to the units based on Lemnos.

The move produced a bitter reaction by the Turks, who demanded that NATO formally reject the offer. Greece was asked to accept language in the committee's documents that Washington expected it to reject, thus killing the Lemnos proposal. But Papandreou acquiesced and then put pressure on the new NATO secretary-general, Lord Carrington, to resist the US-Turkish ploy. Ankara rumbled with threats of mobilisation.

By the time Papandreou and the other NATO defence ministers met in Brussels last week, there was no way out for the Turks. They vetoed Greece's force proposal; and Greece responded by vetoing the corresponding Turkish proposal. For the first time in the history of NATO neither Greek nor Turkish forces are included in an annual defence plan. This creates unusual problems for NATO bureaucrats, who cannot allocate money for military preparations in the two countries until the impasse is resolved; and for Turkey which is a major beneficiary of this NATO spending. For Greece, there was a victory of another sort — for the first time official NATO documents have implicitly accepted Greece's military position on Lemnos.

Tactical manoeuvring like this has more than once led to US criticism of Papandreou as the 'spoiler' of the Alliance. But the Administration's heavy hand plays to his advantage. To the US Congress, he can now demonstrate that the Reagan Administration isn't serious about pressing Turkey to withdraw its troops or its diplomatic recognition from Northern Cyprus. To his allies in NATO and the European Community he can show that US security pledges are unreliable, requiring acts of faith from the European allies that are not reciprocated.

This leads Papandreou to the argument he has made repeatedly to the non-socialist as well as socialist heads of government in Europe — that the security and stability of Western Europe is weakened rather than enhanced by the Reagan Administration's policy of polarising the Western and Eastern blocs. This was the basis of his opposition to sanctions against Poland, his support for normalising relations with General Jaruzelski, his calls for an independent European stance on Central America and the Arab-Israeli conflict, and his advocacy of nuclear arms negotiations — nuclear-free zones in the Balkans and in Scandinavia.

There are Greeks who believe US officials are well-intentioned but uninformed — if they understood the merits of Papandreou's foreign policy, they wouldn't countenance the campaign against him. This isn't the case with Perle, however, or senior CIA and State Department figures. For them Papandreou has become a personal adversary and his objectives a fundamental challenge to their standing in Europe. They can smother dissent within NATO and inspire attacks on Papandreou in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*, but the heavy-handedness will tell against them in the Greek elections. Greeks who have grown up with the *Karaghiozis* — the shadow theatre of folklore — know a puppet when they see one. They are figures to be ridiculed, not elected. □

MOZAMBIQUE

REAPING THE WHIRLWIND

Drive for food production splits the Left, reports Joe Hanlon

Maputo

FRELIMO'S CAMPAIGN to support larger commercial farmers in Mozambique is now provoking a backlash. Because of the worst drought of the century and the continued South African backed war, there are serious food shortages.

Frelimo concluded that the priority must be to increase the production of food for the urban market; and that this could be done most quickly by the larger commercial farmers who already have experience and some machinery. These are White Portuguese or Asians who stayed after independence, plus a few Black Mozambicans who succeeded in accumulating capital in colonial times.

These commercial farmers have been given priority for animal feed and fertiliser, as well as for new equipment like pumps and tractors. They are also being given more land — taken from inefficient state farms, but also from cooperatives and small family farmers.

At the top, Frelimo's line is that resources must be given to those who will produce the most *now*, in order to avoid starvation and discontent in the cities. But even within the Frelimo Party there is resistance. One district in southern Mozambique told a public meeting in October: 'Socialism means a mixture of cooperative and state farms. We are not socialist yet, so we must support family farmers as well. But not private farmers. It was private businessmen who brought down Salvador Allende; we cannot allow them to grow and bring down Samora Machel'.

It is also clear that government officials are using the new policy to help themselves and their families. Significant amounts of land, particularly in the 'green zone' around Maputo, have been given to civil servants and their relatives: they have little or no commercial farming experience, but they hope to start with land already cleared and developed by family farmers, and build up with the new resources offered by the State. Some expect to keep their State jobs and hire workers, while others are quitting State posts for more lucrative private farming.

The issue came to a head at an angry meeting in Maputo chaired by Frelimo Politburo member Jorge Rebelo. Family farmers (almost entirely women) complained of commercial farmers (all men) taking their land in the 'green zone'. The commercial farmers replied that the women, who largely use primitive hand tools like hoes rather than machinery, were making poor use of good land. Rosa Chirindze drew loud applause when she responded: 'With this land I feed my son at university and my son in the 4th class at school. They never fail, not because I take them to witchdoctors for potions, but because I work to feed them well. When my husband comes home from work tired, he has food. This food comes not from shops, but from land you want to steal from me.'

Rebelo admitted that there were problems, that not all those taking land were genuine commercial farmers and that many commercial farmers were dishonest and sold their produce on the black market. But he stressed the goal of maximising commercialised production and that this *could* mean moving women family farmers to less productive land. But he stressed they should never be left with no land.

This seems unlikely to satisfy the women. The spirit of the meeting was captured by one woman who stood up and said: 'They come like armed bandits to throw us off our land, but their arms are briefcases full of papers ordering our expulsion.' □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Challenging immigration laws

Pranesh Das, East London Workers Against Racism

Jolyon Jenkins's article detailing the Immigration and Nationality Department's cynical attempts to acquire a respectable image made some useful points (*NS* 30 November).

It is notable that the Tories' success in marginalising the immigration issue allowed them to make a play for the black vote in the 1983 general election. However, Jenkins is wrong to argue that the government owes some of its success to anti-deportation campaigns which put their case in political rather than humanitarian terms and whose supporters are 'predominantly working-class and left-wing'.

Jenkins refers in particular to the Afia Begum campaign, which 'helped them [the Tories] to project immigration as a marginal issue of a lunatic fringe'. In reality, the campaign to stop the deportation of Afia Begum prevented the Home Office from executing yet another silent deportation order. Focusing on the need to oppose all immigration controls the campaign became a national issue and forced the government and Home Office minister David Waddington on to the defensive. For the first time, the Tories were obliged to try to justify their racist immigration policies in the open — in Parliament, on television and in the pages of the national papers. This was the campaign's strength, not its 'misfortune', as Jenkins would have it.

The Tories have been successful in their objective of downplaying the immigration issue because there have been too few campaigns that have set out to challenge the whole basis of the immigration laws. The Home Office has got away with more and more deportations because too many campaigns have narrowed their sights to pleading for compassion for particular individuals without objecting to the principle of immigration controls itself. The real success of the Tories stems from the fact that no significant force has yet challenged the consensus backing their immigration policies. They have been helped not by what Jenkins dismisses as the 'lunatic fringe', but by those who argue that somehow Britain's immigration laws can be operated in an equitable and non-discriminatory manner.

The Home Office replies

Brian Mower, Director of Information, Home Office

The article you published on 30 November on immigration (Jolyon Jenkins: 'The middle class Asian vote') was partial, inaccurate and misleading. The article repeated an unsupported and untrue assertion which appeared in the *Guardian* earlier, to the effect that the Home Office had 'persuaded' the Commission for Racial Equality to rewrite its report on immigration procedures. The truth of this assertion has already been authoritatively denied by the Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality in a letter which the *Guardian* published the following day (26 November) and in a letter which you published on 7 December. Mr Newsam's letters described what was in all respects a normal process of consultation between the Commission and a body under investigation by it.

Mr Jenkins's article went on to draw a false and inaccurate contrast between a programme of race relations visits to communities by the Minister of State (Mr Waddington) and a completely separate programme of visits to communities with substantial ethnic minority populations made by officials from the Immigration and Nationality Department. Reference was made to one particular Ministerial visit. Mr Jenkins's account of this was not, in fact, accurate (the Minister's audience did not all walk out — a considerable number remained to hear his answers although, regrettably, not those to whose criticisms he was replying): and the incident at Bristol was, in any case, completely untypical. The reference to civil servants 'charming' hostile audiences during their own series of visits is just silly. Anyone who had attended these meetings would know that such a remark is unfair to those who came, put their criticisms frankly and firmly, and had them answered not always to their satisfaction.

The article said that the Department's first report (published in July) contains little information not available elsewhere. This misses the point of the report with deliberate skill. There was in fact new information in the report, but an important reason for publishing it was to make information (new and old) available easily, instead of asking people to hunt through statistics and back copies of Hansard.

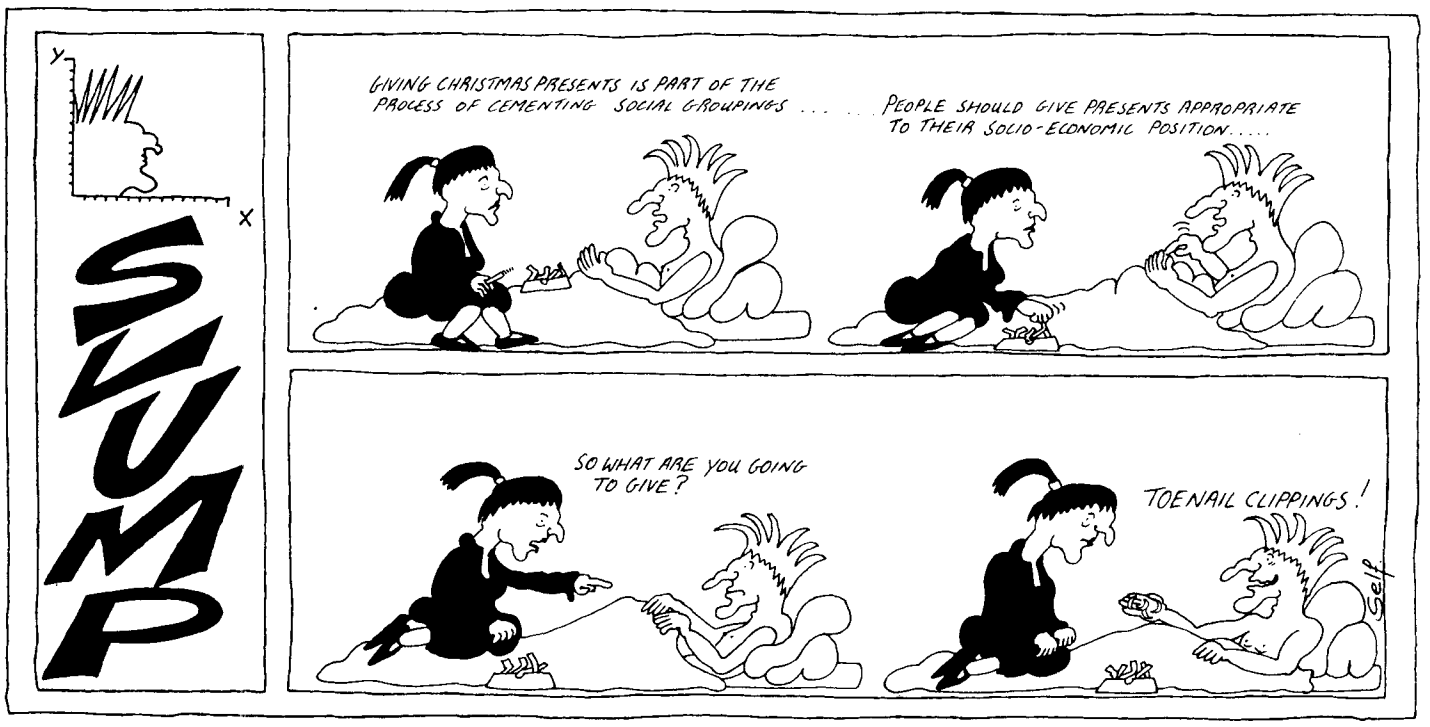
It is not for me to comment on the political conclusion reached by the author of the article. But I can say that in illustrating his article with two cases, in a partial way, he confirmed the importance and value to public discussion of immigration of the practice which the IND is now pursuing in relation to visits by officials. That can be simply stated. Their aim is to explain themselves more fully, to contact communities directly, and to listen to and try to respond to criticism of the way they do things. The Home Office believes this approach is both right and responsible. These visits (and indeed the publication of the further report of the IND) were not arranged with the CRE Report in mind. Those who believe in the conspiracy theory of administrative change will not of course accept that. It is nevertheless true. We intend to continue this policy, hoping to build up, gradually, a more informed approach to the difficult personal problems which the Department, and those with whom it deals, have to face.

Animal rights

Angela Smith, Political Officer, League Against Cruel Sports

I read with interest your editorial 'Animals also have rights' (*NS* 23 November) but while basically agreeing I would like to take issue with a few points.

First, your comment that 'It is the activist groups which now comprise the new movement' is incorrect. The number of animal protection/rights campaigners who are actively involved in the kind of direct action that you describe (e.g. the Mars Bars fiasco) is very small indeed. They simply secure maximum coverage for publicity motivated actions. It is a major criticism of the press that the efforts of thousands to secure legislative change receive little or no publicity while the activities of ▷


Y
X
SUMP
GIVING CHRISTMAS PRESENTS IS PART OF THE PROCESS OF CEMENTING SOCIAL GROUPINGS . . . . . PEOPLE SHOULD GIVE PRESENTS APPROPRIATE TO THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION . . . . .
SO WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO GIVE?
TOENAIL CLIPPINGS!
Self

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a few receive the headlines.

Second, you assert that 'The Left has long spurned the issue'. The facts say otherwise. In 1976 the Labour Party produced a document called 'Living Without Cruelty' which is the most radical and comprehensive document of its kind ever produced by a major political party. In both the 1979 and 1983 election manifestos Labour promised major reforms in this neglected area of political interest.

The Labour Party has given a firm lead on this issue and the actions of Labour-controlled local authorities, who have put promises and policies into practice, refute the assertion that the issue has been 'spurned'. Over 40 Labour-controlled councils have banned hunting on their land, banned circuses with performing animals and refused planning permission to build animal research laboratories. To many of us there is no doubt that had a Labour government been elected, many basic changes in Animal Protection legislation would have been enacted. However, the Labour Party is at fault for not promoting the issue or their policies enough.

Frustration is felt by those of us who campaign within the political system. However, our frustration does not extend to supporting the actions of self-confessed anarchists. Historically, the movement failed to have any real impact on the 1950s and 1960s because the conservatives in control of the RSPCA used to regard some species of animals as more important than some classes of human beings. These days are thankfully over — except for the tiny minority who are prepared to hurt people and thus retard our cause.

Christmas behind bars

Abdul Minty, Anti-Apartheid Movement, 13 Selous Street, London NW1

This year will be the 22nd Christmas that Nelson Mandela will have spent separated from his family because of his continuing incarceration in the dungeons of apartheid. The trials and tribulations of the Mandela family are not unique. There will be hundreds of families of Namibian and South African political prisoners who will miss their mothers or fathers, daughters or sons this year.

May I therefore take this opportunity to invite your readers to send seasonal greetings to the banned and banished, and to the families of political prisoners, and of those who have been executed or who have died in detention in Namibia or South Africa. For the hundreds of courageous women and men who are persecuted by the apartheid laws, such greetings are both welcomed and appreciated. Please write to us for a list of names and addresses enclosing an SAE.

Funding for folk

Derek Schofield, Crewe

I was interested to read Naseem Khan's perceptive and sympathetic report on the activities and Annual General Meeting of the English Folk Dance and Song Society (*NS* 23 November).

It is not true, however, to say that there is 'little funding' for folk, and that 'the Arts Council will not support it', although folk is seriously neglected by many grant-awarding bodies. The English Folk Dance and Song Society does receive some outside funding — £1850 in the last two years from The British Academy for the annual 'Folk Music Journal', grants from several sources for the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library (a unique collection of books, recordings and manuscripts on folk dance and song), and substantial sums from, of all places, The Sports Council (for the dance activities).

The Arts Council does not *presently* fund the performing folk arts, although pressure is now mounting for a change in attitude. The policy of the Dance and Mime Panel excludes just one type of dance from its funding — folk dance. Until the Arts Council appoints people with a knowledge of folk dance and music to its advisory panels, perhaps there will never be a change.

In view of the support for the folk arts from the Regional Arts Associations, and the fact that most other countries in the world support and take pride in their performing folk arts, surely the onus is on the Arts Council of Great Britain to state why it continues to *refuse* to fund folk.

A socialist remembrance

Michael Fodor, Exeter

Islander in his diary (*NS* 7 December) refers to the lack of a good socialist service for the dead.

Recently, as friends of the family, my wife and I attended the cremation of Tom Russell — ex London Philharmonic and ex Collets. This was at Taunton's very beautifully simple and secular building for modern crematoria. Following a brief, heartfelt and most appropriate address by an old LPO colleague there followed Tom's favourite piece of chamber music, Schubert's String Quintet, and the meeting was concluded by the Red Flag/International, both chosen by Tom for himself. As a socialist remembrance this was unfortunately not sufficiently recorded by the media as was Tom's due for his work as a leading administrator, first on behalf of his musical colleagues and later as the maker of Collets.

For the record

A.C. Frood, Managing Director, Crown Agents

For the second time in three months an article referring to the Crown Agents has appeared in the *New Statesman* which is factually wrong. The latest is the article headed 'UK's "Torture Trade" has quietly resumed' (*NS* 21 September). In it you say that since the Minister of Trade & Industry's announcement about the export of implements of restraint early this year the Crown Agents have exported footcuffs and Mallacca canes. We have not. For the sake of the record I should be grateful if you would publish a correction.

New Statesman

Annual subscription rates*

*6 months & 3 months subscription pro rata

UK & Eire £37; Europe (airmail only) £41
Rest of world: air speeded £41; air mail £52

USA: air speeded $62; air mail $83
Canada: air speeded Can $72; air mail Can $97

Student subscription rates available on request

Please note: payment by cheque in Sterling, US/Canadian Dollars, or International Money Order only

Please complete this form and post to:
NS Subscriptions, 14-16 Farringdon Lane
London EC1R 3AU

Name.....

Address.....

.....

.....
(BLOCK CAPITALS PLEASE)

I enclose £/$.....

Pavilion gets reprieve

Caroline Taylor, The Pavilion, 235 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2

In reference to Simon Watney's article, 'The captive image' (*NS* 9 November), I would like to clarify the position of the Pavilion photography centre, which featured in the article, as regards funding.

The dire financial position he outlines has recently been alleviated by a grant of £4,500 from West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council. This will enable the Pavilion to continue its operation, and possibly in the future expand its activities. We are continuing to seek further funding for the new financial year, and if any *NS* readers would like more information about our activities, we would be pleased to hear from them at the above address.

Good art and good intentions

Geoff Evans, Director, Pentonville Gallery

I was interested to read about the Pentonville Gallery in Peter Dormer's intelligent article (*NS* 30 November). Mr Dormer is, however, mistaken when he refers to the Pentonville's 'belief that bad art is justified when it has good intentions'. We hold no such belief. If Mr Dormer is of the opinion that we have shown 'bad art', he should be specific.

Thanks to the support we receive from the GLC and Great London Arts Association, the Pentonville exists to be, as Mr Dormer mentions, a forum — not a showcase. Some of the work that has been shown has been contentious, underdeveloped, naive (small 'n'); but the Pentonville's *raison d'être* is to provide the space for artists to find out how successful it is; how else except in a social context can their efforts be tried and tested? The Pentonville would welcome Mr Dormer's specific examples of 'bad art' that has been shown here, because as the Gallery continues its quasi-organic development, it can take into account constructive opinion, digest it, and be a better place as a result.

What a plug

Cyril Phillips, Public Relations Manager, MK Electric Ltd, London N9

Islander's remarks (*NS* 23 November) on the Great British Plug seem to call for some comment.

Of course, if Islander is using a four-foot screwdriver to do the job, no one can give him/her advice — but there are good plugs and bad plugs. To deal with an MK plug you need only one size of screwdriver, and the screws don't fall out while you're on the job. The screws holding the connections are big, bold and brassy, as they should be. There are no screws holding the cable clamp — ours is a simple friction clamp so you just press the cable down and it holds on like grim death. It also tightens if you try to pull it out. The leads should be of equal length, and the plug is designed to make this easy.

Naturally, fitting a plug can be a chore, but we try to make it as easy as we can. More than that, we designed the plug to be as safe as possible.

Maybe Islander buys his/her plugs at some kind of sleazy, cut-price, fell-off-the-back-of-a-lorry stall in a backstreet market (as Alan Coren might say) whereas what you should do is buy The Best of British — like ours. Provided you remember to switch the juice off before you start you shouldn't have a problem.

P.S. Was your plug *really* British, by the way?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Strangers and comrades

The miners' strike has ripped the fabric of tolerance, and class politics is in its death throes . . . Michael Ignatieff argues for a 'language of the public good' to build a new fellowship among strangers

John Sturrock/Network

Countering the image of the miners portrayed on the television screens

I

AFTER NINE months of the miners' strike, any ordinary television viewer knows the terms of a potential settlement. Guarantees about the future of miners' jobs were given in the NACODS agreement and could be made iron-cast; the threatened pits could be given a reprieve; an arbitration board could be appointed to adjudicate the issue of closures on a case by case basis; the NCB's projected reduction in capacity could be shelved: the strike has made it irrelevant in any case. The miners could pay their fines, purge their contempt and return within the pale of the law. Even the vexed presence of Mr Ian MacGregor could be disposed of — after a decent interval.

A formula of words thus exists which would enable Mr Eaton and Mr Scargill to appear together under the hot lights on the steps of ACAS in St James's Square each claiming victory, or at least, honourable vindication. Yet as any ordinary television viewer knows, this is unlikely to happen. Much more likely is a bloody fight to the finish. Whoever is still left standing on the field of battle, the result will be the decimation of a great industry and a great union. How has this been allowed to happen? Why is British political culture, one of the most venerable and successful instruments ever devised for the containment, suppression and adjudication of social conflict, proving so ineffective in this case? The simple answer is that neither side trusts the other to honour the terms of a compromise.

Compromise itself has been reduced to a synonym of capitulation, and the business of conciliating social interests — once thought to be the very art of government — has come to be seen as an exercise in appeasement by the government in power. There has been virulent and abusive language on both sides of the dispute, but the government bears a heavier responsibility for the degradation of political argument, precisely because it is not simply one side in the dispute: it is elected to represent the common interests of the country, chief among which is the maintenance of a language of mutual respect in political controversy. The Prime Minister's Carlton House speech about the 'fascists of the Left' simply guaranteed that when the Welsh taxi-driver was so shamefully murdered her attempts to speak for a common outrage were heard as a self-serving attempt to regain the higher moral ground she had abandoned earlier in the week.

When children say 'sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me', they of course mean the opposite. The hurt of words endures long after the ache of truncheons has subsided. Miners have reason to feel bitter about the way they have been represented in the language of Parliament and the Press as they are about the way they have been treated by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the police and the social security system. When the Barnsley miners' wives formed their support group for the strike, they did so, in the first instance, to counter the image of the miners portrayed on the television screens and in the press. Fairness and balance — the summum bonum of Fleet Street's good conscience — does not begin to convey what miners and their wives want from the press: not merely the chance to present their case, but also the chance to be heard with simple respect. When the aged Earl of Stockton felt it necessary to remind his party and its press that the miners had fought and died for their country, one realized how far the language of the Right had abandoned the ground of common decency.

The erosion of a language of respect on the Right must be connected to the economism of the government's conception of the common good. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's assertion that the destruction of a great union and the immiseration of thousands of men, women and children is a sensible investment in the future of the British economy must be read against the same Chancellor's inability to define the country's collective purpose in any higher terms than containing inflation and reducing unemployment. This economism does not merely lack any idea of what 'one nation' is supposed to be 'one nation' *for*, it also lacks any accounting terms for measuring the social cost of laying waste to communities and to their painfully acquired heritage of skills.

Into the void in Conservative rhetoric where an idea of the common good ought to be, Mrs Thatcher has cast the language of law and order, as if the national interest were synonymous with the police interest.

Only a government bereft of any conception of the nation's good could define a reasonable settlement of the dispute in terms of the destruction of the NUM. What kind of victory would it be to leave behind a community of defeated and embittered miners? People have memories, and they have pride: 1926 is as much a cause of 1984 as Mr MacGregor. What is appalling about a political strategy explicitly seeking to smash the NUM and to 'isolate' the miners from respectable political discourse is that it mortgages the future of class relations in this country. Any victory won on these terms will bequeath a legacy of bitterness which will plague industrial relations for every government which comes after hers. The government's grotesque charade of non-involvement in the dispute — insisting that the NCB must negotiate for itself, while cutting strikers' benefits — is nothing less than an abdication of its responsibility towards the national interest.

II

IN THE NORMAL course of events, a government which fails to uphold the national interest eventually forfeits its electoral support. Judging from the opinion polls, it is Labour rather than the Conservatives which is paying the higher electoral price for the strike. The miners' case — that their cause is the cause of all workers — has failed to persuade working people. A gulf is perceived to exist between the miners' interest and the national interest, and the Labour Party, being structurally dependent on the unions, is seen as being incapable of defending the latter against the former.

One reason why the miners' interest has not been seen as the national interest is that 1984 is not 1926. Their opponent now is not Capital, the sectional economic interest of mine owners, but the State itself. Any confrontation between a union and a nationalized industry and between the unions and the courts is thus seen by the general public as a conflict between a sectional interest and the national interest. The miners may say that the laws they are defying are capitalist laws, but that is not how the whole fabric of law, as opposed to the Employment Act of 1981, is seen by the country at large. By taking on every institution of the national interest at once — the courts, the police, and the government — the miners have inevitably been seen as acting against the collective good.

It is no use complaining that the State is arrayed against you: only the most painstaking observance of the law is likely to win over the watching national audience to the view that the State is actually acting against the national interest. Only non-violence in the face of provocation will convince a watching audience that the State has overstepped its bounds. In the event the State has acted with great brutality upon occasion, without losing any of its legitimacy except in the mining communities. Miners who have acted with self-discipline and restraint have had the bitter experience both of being assaulted by the police for their pains and then being branded collectively as criminal outcasts. Of course, when the State brands you as an outlaw, it becomes that much easier to behave like one. Violence is a spiral which only legitimises the State.

The fact that it is the State, not Capital, which is against the miners also transforms the *casus belli* — the definition of the uneconomic pit — into an issue about the social allocation of common resources. If the mines were in private hands, the argument that there are *no* economic grounds for closure might have sounded like a dignified socialist refusal to allow the law of profit to dictate the future of working people's communities. But the mines are a collective social asset. To say there are no economic grounds for closure in this context is to say there are no limits in principle to the amount taxpayers can be asked to pay.

This is not a dignified refusal to be dictated to by the capitalist law of profit: it is simply a refusal to submit the claims of the mining communities to the democratic process by which taxpayers' money is allocated between competing uses. Whatever the party in power, there will always be 'economic' grounds for closure, simply because there are choices to be made over public expenditure, between increasing the subsidy to miners, for example, and raising old age pensions. The appeal of the miners' case was fatally damaged by the failure to admit that their claim on collective resources was as limited as any other social group's.

The fact that the State is the employer in this dispute creates a conflict of loyalties for those workers asked to join sympathy strikes. Arthur Scargill has appealed for the power workers to turn out the lights on the rest of us, and those on the Left who believe in class politics believe the strike would have been over long ago had they done so. Yet most workers in the public sector are both producers and consumers of State services, and responsible public sector unions have to reconcile the claims of union solidarity against their obligations to the public. In this most obvious conflict of loyalties, power workers appear to have decided that the miners' interest and the general interest do not coincide.

NO CONFLICT of principle has cost the labour movement so dear in the past 20 years. Most of the major industrial struggles of the past generation have pitted Labour against the State, not Labour against Capital, and in the struggle workers have been divided against themselves. The public sector strikes of 1973-1979 destroyed the moral legitimacy of the union movement and prepared the electoral basis for Thatcherism within the working class itself. Many workers believe that if the price of victory in this or any dispute is plunging old age pensioners huddled before single bar fires into the freezing dark, then the price is too high.

The price is also too high if solidarity has to be built upon victimisation. There has always been a conflict which socialist politics has to reconcile between the sovereignty of private judgment — the individualism rooted in the Nonconformist working-class tradition — and the claims of solidarity enshrined in trade unionism. If there is a current of sympathy among working people for working miners it is because the claims of private judgment have always been valued as highly as the claims of solidarity. In a democratic union, the way to reconcile solidarity and private

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

judgment is through a ballot. The call for a national ballot, heard from Ministers and the Tory press, is simply a way of demanding that the strike be called off. Yet the demand for a ballot is as legitimate as the demand that union members be asked whether the union should seek financial support from Arab dictators. In both cases, denying the men a ballot and making secret deals with Colonel Gadafy, the miners' leadership treated their own membership with a contempt which forfeited the support of other trade unionists.

It is also up to the leaders of the union to make sure that the claim of solidarity is not used as a moral permission for acts of hatred. Solidarity is a precious tradition of self-discipline and self-restraint: it is being traduced and betrayed by men who hurl bricks through their workmates' windows and beat them up in their own houses. The first task of leaders is to conserve the legitimacy and authority of the traditions entrusted to them. Can the miners' leadership honestly say that they have bequeathed that tradition of solidarity intact to future generations?

III

THERE ARE THOSE on the Left who maintain that the miners' strike is a vindication of a class-based politics after decades in which the agenda of the Left was defined by cross-class campaigns like feminism and CND. Yet the strike demonstrates the reverse: a labour movement which is incapable of presenting a class claim as a national claim, which can only pose its demands in the language of total victory, which takes on the State and ends up on the wrong side of the law cannot hope to conserve its support and legitimacy among the working class public. The miners' strike is not the vindication of class politics, but its death throes.

In the analysis of why this should be so — why steel workers and power workers do not come out in support of miners, or why workers do not vote Labour as they once did — argument often focuses on the claim that property ownership and post-war consumerism have transformed the working class voter into a selfish individualist, for whom political allegiance is a floating and contingent accoutrement of life style. The intense passions raised by the miners' strike far away from the coalfields demonstrate the incorrectness of this view: political identity remains as much at the centre of people's sense of themselves as moral actors as it ever did.

What seems to be happening is not that workers are becoming more individualistic, but that their loyalties are more divided and conflictual than ever before. Political commitment is now a matter of choice in ways it never was when a man or woman was a member of a small, self-contained industrial or rural community. No one lives apart from the national community, not even the miners. If the pit communities are defended with passion, it is not because they are ancient, but because they are recent: fragile islands built against the tide of migration from pit to pit which has been the miners' lot since 1947.

All workers nowadays are both producers and consumers, both members of a local community and members of a national community, enemies of the State upon occasion, and also its dependants. The locus of political socialisation has shifted from the family, the workplace and the community to the great meeting place of the society of strangers: the media. Radio and television have made us a nation in ways we never were: every local conflict, every local tragedy is now a national event. Appeals by miners or by anyone else to a national audience to support their sectional interest increasingly fall on deaf ears for a television public whose primary concern is to understand how the conflicts unceasingly represented on the screens can be adjudicated and reconciled. In this conflict over the adjudication of national conflict, the battle for political opinion — for control of collective representations of the national interest — becomes the dominant form of struggle.

Toward these developments, Labour typically faces both ways, welcoming — for example — the freedom of women to make up their own minds politically, while lamenting the decline of old working-class loyalties. It would be more consistent to welcome the decline of all residual, fixed and automatic political loyalties and to embrace a political culture in which individual opinion is shaped and re-shaped by the nightly battle of representations on the television screen. In this struggle, the crucial requirement for political success is a believable image of national purpose and identity. Parties no longer win by making contradictory promises to a loose conglomerate of competing minority groups: they win by articulating a vision of common purpose which moulds minorities into majorities.

THE LEFT crucially overestimates Mrs Thatcher's electoral appeal if it believes she has succeeded in monopolizing the language of 'one nation.' Her authoritarianism divides as much as it unites, and her idea of uniting strangers in a common purpose is to turn the nation into a limited company: first British Telecom, then Great Britain Limited.

The Left may scorn the idea of reducing citizenship to stock ownership, but Labour's own economics of national purpose — nationalization — is equally bankrupt as a means of bringing the country together. Its image of the common good — the just community — is also crucially equivocal about how the goods of equality, community and justice can be reconciled. The left wing of the party who argue that Labour lost its electoral legitimacy because it lacked the courage of its egalitarian convictions are correct. Yet egalitarian justice is the most divisive of human virtues: one person's justice is another's injustice. A society which tries to live by justice can also die by it, unless it leavens justice with reconciliation. The trouble with Arthur Scargill's politics is not that it doesn't have justice on its side, but that it utterly lacks a conception of how competing classes, regions, races and religions can be reconciled with each other in a national community.

What the Left needs is a language of national unity expressed as commitment to fellowship among strangers. We need a language of trust built upon a practice of social comradeship. Labour's record in municipal government has severely tested the public's confidence that socialists know how to build and manage public housing, parks, schools, swimming pools and hospitals in such a way that every citizen feels they are being treated with respect. We need, in short, a politics of public goods to set beside a politics of justice: this requires a practice of popular planning at local level which will restore ordinary people's faith that public goods can be made responsive to their needs, and beyond that, that living together in the multiracial city of strangers is actually desirable.

A language of the public good is not a middle-class liberal abstraction. In a society tied together by a division of labour and an electronic nervous system which turns every local conflict into a national conflict, a common language of social trust, and a shared system of public goods are the most urgent social needs we have. Common social attachments can be battered apart by intemperate and hate-filled speeches. They can also be bled to death by the social expenditure cuts undertaken by both Labour and Conservative governments. Public goods are the membrane of social trust.

There are those on both sides in the miners' strike who openly welcome the end of the age of compromise and consensus in British political life, who welcome the dawn of an era of the politics of class versus the politics of the market. Future generations who will have to re-stitch the common fabric of social tolerance will not judge them kindly. □

Michael Ignatieff is the author of The Needs of Strangers, *published by Chatto (£8.95 & £3.95).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Behind the mask

David Montrose

James Boswell: The Later Years, 1769-1785
FRANK BRADY *Heinemann* £20

PUBLISHED in 1966 after 37 years in the works, Frederick A. Pottle's definitive account of Boswell's early life (1740-1769)* closed with its subject facing, so his contemporaries must have thought, a rosy personal and professional future. Heir to the lairdship of Auchinleck, recently married for love, a rising lawyer in Edinburgh, he boasted important political and literary connections, notably with Samuel Johnson, and was already famous in his own right for a book about his impressions of Corsica, which had made the islanders' struggle against Genoese rule something of a *cause célèbre*.

In fact, these signs of success concealed enduring problems, chiefly the melancholia and self-doubt to which Boswell had been prone since childhood. Fruit of a mere 17 years' intermittent labour, Frank Brady's completion of the biography traces a later life marked — despite the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* and the *Life of Johnson* — by gloom and disappointment.

Avoiding depression required congenial surroundings and pursuits. Unfortunately, Boswell found Scotland provincial and dull, its social gatherings either vulgarly informal or vapidly genteel. Relations with his autocratic father were at best uneasy, legal routine increasingly wearisome. Boswell practised law with reasonable assiduity until middle age, but never overcame his resentment at it being a career dictated by his father, himself a judge. Throughout the period, Boswell craved London's captivating personages and pastimes. Almost every Spring recess was spent there, his spirits lifting as he headed south, plummeting when he returned. Eventually, he resolved to become 'a great man in London' by obtaining political or judicial preferment.

Boswell continued to write, of course — copiously — but, until the *Hebrides* (1785), he published nothing more substantial than articles and pamphlets, often designed to butter up those with preferment to bestow. But 20 years of lobbying the high and mighty yielded only a paltry sinecure that he soon resigned. Boswell carried little clout, was considered insufficiently 'sedate'. Above all, he lacked the necessary patience and consistency, switching allegiances when his overtures produced no swift benefits, alternating flattery with grand professions of independence. In the end, he did not settle in London until 1786, after transferring, with negligible success, to the English Bar.

Boswell's dissatisfaction with his lot made him even more susceptible to melancholy. Many of his activities and involvements — including a now notorious taste for bed and bottle — were, in part, strategies to prevent or cure that affliction. A desire for what Boswell called 'variety' and a concupiscence that his wife could not satisfy were largely responsible for his amours and whoremongery. But not entirely: sex was, Brady notes, Boswell's 'habitual solace' for despondency. Wine-bibbing in convivial company offered similar relief. So did literary toil. 'If I had a pamphlet to write every day,' he once remarked, 'I should be happy.' On a deeper level, Boswell's indefatigable journal-keeping was appreciably motivated by a need to assert his selfhood against the feelings of insubstantiality that accompanied his depressions. Boswell's fleshly consolations, though, were double-edged: penitence and resolutions to mend soon followed, especially after drunken rowdiness or when he 'catch'd a Tartar' (gonorrhea), as he did at least a dozen times according to W.B. Ober's essay 'Boswell's Clap'. (Ober argues that Boswell's recurring infections were ultimately responsible for his death from uraemia.)

Nevertheless, for all his melancholia, perpetually complained of to friends, he presented a bright public face: his social talents were renowned. Johnson, indeed, never having seen Boswell sunk in despair, always believed he exaggerated his affliction. Only in his final years did gloom threaten to overwhelm him. 'I can expect only temporary alleviation of misery, and some gleams of enjoyment,' he wrote in 1792. His wife and closest friends were dead. Despite critical and commercial successes with the *Hebrides* and the *Life*, he envisaged a bleak future, while his finances were even shakier than usual. Solace was taken in stronger doses — heavier drinking, sexual experiments (nature unspecified) — but proved less effective than before. The last months found him prey to continual introspection whenever he was not taking refuge in conviviality or entertainment.

Richard Willson

In recounting the events of Boswell's life, Brady has followed Pottle's example by striking a near-ideal balance between economy and amplitude, providing rich detail without lapsing into the mere accretion of trivia. This balance is missing only in the treatment of a few well-known incidents, which Brady presents cursorily, as though embarrassed by their familiarity. In particular, he skims over the famous meeting Boswell contrived between Johnson and Wilkes, inveterate political enemies.

It is, though, for offering vastly more than the facts of a life that Brady especially deserves congratulation. Above all, he deals masterfully with Boswell's complex character. An egotist with a flair for literary self-advertisement, Boswell also suffered from agonising insecurity. A snob who endorsed feudalism and slavery, he supported American and Corsican self-determination and was noted, early in his legal career, for unfashionable zeal in defending poor clients. Though preoccupied with correct behaviour, he refused to omit uncomplimentary references to living people from his two books about Johnson. While often comforted by religion, he was also often troubled by scepticism: several episodes show him attending deathbeds and hangings, hoping to see the dying and the condemned evince a reassuring faith in an afterlife. Brady achieves a unified portrait without simplifying these contradictions. With Brady also commenting acutely on Boswell's writing — notably in a chapter on the biographical theories embodied in the *Life* — this book triumphantly concludes the project Pottle began all those years ago. □

*James Boswell: The Earlier Years, 1740-1769, *now reissued by Heinemann at £20.*

Horror story

Naomi Mitchison

The True Confessions of an Albino Terrorist
BREYTEN BREYTENBACH *Faber* £9.95

TOTALITARIAN states, in which only one kind of person or thought is allowed since anything else endangers the structure of power, depend on destroying, quickly and efficiently, threatening thoughts or actions. The less secure they feel themselves to be, the stronger is this policy. In this period of history, South Africa is probably the least secure of these States, although — unlike some of them — there is always an attempt to make the process of destruction within the law, and the law is still not totally corrupt. However, the South African state machine tries if possible to kill those it fears most or, failing that, to damage them so much that they can no longer function as critics or enemies. They usually succeed in killing their black opponents (apart from the few who were jailed and immobilised many years ago before the jailers were quite as successful in 'accidental' killings). As for the white ones, they try to fix those who would be awkward to kill by destroying their minds. That is less easy. But this book shows how hard they tried with Breytenbach.

It seems that the only people who can stand up to a long imprisonment in which there is a determined attack on the mind are those with deep inner convictions. For instance, in the days of Chinese 're-education' those who survived it were on the whole men or women with strong, even fundamentalist religious convictions. In earlier European conditions they might have been martyrs, even saints. But

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the deep conviction may be political; this again we have seen in our time. Yet only a few do have such strong convictions, whatever they may think or have done. Perhaps people such as poets cannot contain them, because conviction is anti-poetic; poets are reflecting and patterning what comes their way from the natural world of images and feelings. Breytenbach was in the South Africa resistance movement for generous and noble reasons, but probably without the political base which could have helped and sustained him in the hellish years of prison.

From his own account it sounds as if the South African spies — and why is it that the British appear to be so inept at spotting them? — knew all about his movements and about the rather shadowy 'revolutionary' movement which he was trying to get together. From the moment he returned to his own beautiful country, the authorities simply let him run for a little so as to get a better grip, and then pounced. The story of his capture, his interrogation and manipulating and then his trial is gripping. But the really horrible part of the book sets out to tell in all its searing detail what was done to him during seven years of prison.

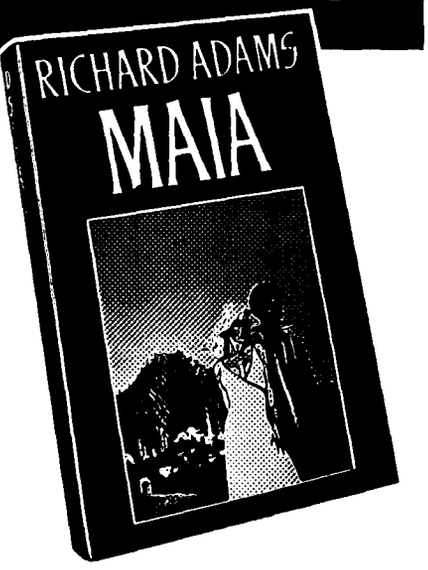
What they did to Breytenbach seems even worse than what was experienced by another seven-year term political prisoner, Lewin, the author of *Bandiet*. But no doubt the South African process of breaking and dehumanising living people takes somewhat different forms in different prisons and is constantly being revised. Some of what happened seems so impossibly hideous that the reader is shocked into unbelief. But I fear, from everything we have to know, that it is only too true. One begins to ask oneself — How? Why? Can a major state, containing a very great number of intelligent and sensitive people, allow itself to employ such base and inhuman servants as these prison warders? Is all this official cruelty due to spasms of deep fear at the top? So far, what is happening in South Africa is not nearly as bad as what happened in Nazi Germany during the war. It is, I would suppose, a lot worse than the Gulag or in China. We ask what is happening, today, this hour, in parts of South America, in Turkey or Iran, in — but the list lengthens hideously.

Yes, there were some nasty incidents in the Maze, also in some Scottish prisons, but word gets out and there are loud and powerful protests and fairly soon they are effective. That is one of the most important sides of democracy. We must remember that there are plenty of people in our own country who believe in punishment, often in its simplest, nastiest form, and also in crushing whatever they decide is anti-social or dangerous, using methods which include mind-breaking drugs. Oddly, drugs were not used on Breytenbach or his fellow inmates; perhaps their results would have been less amusing and stimulating for their nitwit guards than some of the cruder things which were done.

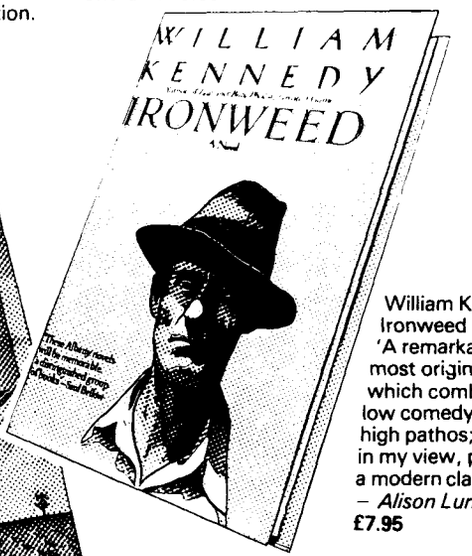
It is some comfort that the International Red Cross found out some of what was happening and was able to force through some ameliorations. There was also 'Aunty' Helen Suzman, managing to produce that little something — rather better food, the occasional film show — so deeply important for the prisoners. In fact the diet was poor in both

NEW FROM VIKING!

Elmore Leonard
LaBrava
A marvellous book displaying Leonard's writing at its exciting best: crackling dialogue, a cinematic sense of locale, and characters as sharply etched and authentic as any in contemporary fiction.
£8.95



Richard Adams
Maia
A masterly new novel of love and war by one of the great storytellers of our time 'An amazing achievement, a book of towering frankness and a future world bestseller'.
Birmingham Post
£12.95
Also re-issued in hardback
Shardik £10.95



William Kennedy
Ironweed
'A remarkable and most original novel, which combines low comedy with high pathos; in my view, probably a modern classic'
— *Alison Lurie*
£7.95

Joyce Thompson
Conscience Place
A secret community set up for the children of nuclear accident victims.
Deformed in body but noble in spirit, their fate is shockingly believable. A truly touching story.
£8.95

Viking

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PLUTO

Presents . . . . . .

THE GREAT MUSEUM
DONALD HORNE

Through its museums, each country presents its own view of the past – a distorted one according to Donald Horne.
'...fascinating and uncomfortable reading.'
Guardian
£5.50 pbk

SCI-TECH

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY REPORT
Edited by Jon Turney

170 articles, a further reading list and directory make this an essential guide to the sci-tech world.
£8.95

WORLD VIEW 1985
Edited by Pete Ayrton, Tom Engelhardt, Vron Ware

Still the only radical yearbook on the market!
£5.95

Pluto,
105a Torriano Avenue,
London NW5 2RX

quantity and quality, further cut for punishment and, of course, still worse for black prisoners.

It is not easy to assess Breytenbach as a poet. Those poems quoted are translations from Afrikaans, the mother language which he also hates. But any translation inevitably loses rhymes, rhythms or other ways of shaping the poem. We have to take his talent for granted, as also the Buddhist securing of his psyche, which must have been enormously helpful.

Now and then in this terrible story there is a good Afrikaner and the good ones have remarkable qualities of courage, strengthening just action. They are too valuable to lose in a blood bath. It is their country too, and Bram Fischer's country. They must have their place in any good future when at last all the pain is over. □

More of the same

Anne Smith

The House of Mitford
JONATHAN GUINNESS with CATHERINE GUINNESS *Hutchinson* £12.95

JONATHAN GUINNESS is Diana Mitford's son by her first husband, Lord Moyne; Catherine is Jonathan Guinness's daughter. Whether the Mitford story ought to have been told by a close member of the family while some of the participants are still alive is questionable. Although Guinness writes well and is enormously entertaining, various sorts of bias inevitably intrude.

Most notably, there is the bias one might expect from a former chairman of the Monday Club. Of the Mitfords' paternal grandfather, Lord Redesdale, for instance, he remarks:

> . . .his snobbery was of that old-fashioned kind which was not wholly devoid of sense. He recognised that an upper class needed to have a purpose; that to have a right to its position, it needed to perform certain social duties and exhibit certain virtues, notably that of personal courage. . .

The implication seems to be that some kinds of snobbery are sensible; the contention that the upper classes have risen to their position of wealth and eminence through superior personal courage is as simple-minded as it is insulting.

Take another example: 'The First World War wiped out whole families of sons, and it was precisely young officers who were most at risk.' One would like to know what was the proportion of young upper-class officers killed to other ranks among the five million soldiers who fell in that war. Then, writing about Jessica Mitford's first husband, Churchill's nephew, a Communist who only joined the Canadian Air Force when 'it was certain that the country [Britain] would fight against Nazism', Guinness generalises:

> We should note that this picking and choosing as to when to volunteer was entirely left-wing. The British Fascists were told by Mosley at the beginning of the war to fight for their country and the vast majority of them did so unconditionally, though the party's policy was against war with Hitler and many of them joined up with a heavy heart.

This is where another sort of bias begins to make itself felt, and the question whether Jonathan Guinness was the most suitable author is most pointedly raised.

His mother, Diana, married Oswald Mosley and has been a passionate supporter of his politics ever since. Jessica and she have therefore been at opposite ends of the political spectrum, and not on speaking terms, for decades. Jessica refused her co-operation with this book. It is not hard to see why. Guinness explains her socialism thus:

> . . .Decca, early in life, felt the need to turn her feelings into explicit general principles; she also read books. Class became an *evil* to her, its beneficiaries including her own family became enemies. What started as a desire for closer human relationships turned into a dehumanisation of her dealings with her parents and most of the real people she actually knew.

The people she knows now are *not* real people? (And is that 'Class. . .its beneficiaries' as much a giveaway as it seems?)

Again and again Guinness shows himself to have come more under the influence of his stepfather than he would care — or perhaps dare — to admit. Occasionally this manifests itself as defensiveness — for instance, when he tries so hard to present his mother as a person in her

Cont'd on p. 32

Left to right (if not politically): Nancy, Tom, Diana, Unity, Lady Redesdale and Pam

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Shorter reviews

Sizewell Report: What Happened at the Inquiry?

MARTIN INCE *Pluto Press* £3.95

This is the first of the dauntingly large number of books that will inevitably be spawned by the two-year Sizewell Inquiry. Unfortunately, in its rush to reach the shelves, it had to be written well before the Inquiry has been completed (current estimates suggest next February or March). This means that some important material — including CND's case in which I am involved — has not been covered.

With that important reservation — which Ince is honest enough to admit — *Sizewell Report* is a useful book. It provides a concise and readable account of all the main arguments on need and economics, helpfully summarising some of the more damaging attacks on the Central Electricity Board's projections. It outlines some of the key safety issues in a way that at least gives an outsider a fair chance of understanding the issues.

Ince's own involvement — as a witness for one of the main objectors, the Town and Country Planning Association — enlivens the story and sharpens its cutting edge. His kind of partial writing is so much more interesting than (usually bogus) impartiality. Interestingly, he is clearly optimistic about the Inquiry's outcome. He seems to suggest that the weight of expert evidence in opposition to Sizewell B is so impressive that it will be impossible for the Inspector, Sir Frank Layfield, to give an unconditional go-ahead.

The book is at its most insightful when it departs from the immediate vicinity of the Inquiry to talk generally about the nuclear industry — when it deals with the declining role of the UK Atomic Energy Authority and the industry's continuing internal battles over reactor types, for example. It also, thankfully, contains a few jokes, such as what happened when Ince himself appeared at the Inquiry:

> I asked almost the only people in the auditorium what they thought so far, and got an embarrassed silence for reply. They turned out to be from the Special Branch.

Rob Edwards

The Sea of Faith

DON CUPITT *BBC* £12.75

The Case Against God

GERALD PRIESTLAND *Collins* £4.95

Following the immediate impact of Don Cupitt's television and Gerald Priestland's radio programmes, together with their escorts of articles and interviews, phone-ins and discussions, their books make possible a more careful consideration of these significant contributions to the steady destruction of Christianity from within ever since the Reformation.

Cupitt's project is more honest and destructive. Taking the metaphor of Matthew Arnold's poem 'Dover Beach', he traces the ebb of the sea of faith during four centuries, showing in a series of separate episodes how the traditional authority of the church has failed and true religion has been preserved by a selection of exemplary individuals — Pascal, Schopenhauer, Strauss, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Jung, Schweitzer, Wittgenstein — who have offered personal solutions which represent the only hope in a post-Christian world. His exposition is always stimulating, but his conclusion is inconclusive. The question is why Cupitt himself remains a Christian — indeed an Anglican priest — after he has used the powerful weapons of critical Protestantism to eliminate the last vestiges of dogma and superstition from Christianity as it has existed for 1900 years. All he leaves is a benevolent and tolerant combination of existentialism, mysticism and humanism which apparently appeals to many people both inside and outside the church, but which is ultimately self-destructive.

Priestland's project is more dishonest (beginning with his misleading title) and conservative. Where Cupitt quotes dead writers, he interviews living talkers and manipulates them in the modern media manner to get his own way with cuts and comments. Where Cupitt is concerned with following the argument, he is concerned with finding the truth. Where Cupitt shows genuine respect for unbelief, he shows real fear of it, and follows friendly gestures to his sceptical participants with patronising remarks. Priestland may be seen as the current reincarnation of C.S. Lewis, ending with an emotional and arrogant combination of fideism, phenomenology and mysticism which possibly appeals to some people who hope that the tide hasn't run out altogether.

Cupitt and Priestland represent the subtle university don and the crude schoolmaster attempting to salvage something in the religious view of the world. What is needed now, to give a proper balance, is a broadcast series on the non-religious view of the world, presented by someone who both holds and knows it. Will any radio or television channel take the opportunity?

Nicolas Walter

Orwell's London

JOHN THOMPSON *Fourth Estate* £9.95

A vast amount of heavy stuff has hit the market floor this Orwell year. I've counted seven collections of essays or symposia in the UK and the US alone, and Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Japan have done their bit. *Some* of them are very good. Four of them, incidentally, contain the same essay by myself on *'Nineteen Eighty-Four* as Satire', for I simply ran out of steam. No wonder I was so touchy about retaining copyright. (Indeed I've been fighting a campaign from the podiums all year to remind people that there is another Orwell to be read.) The first nine volumes of the Secker & Warburg complete and corrected '1984' edition will not now emerge until late 1985 (start saving now). Yet a lot of other heavy stuff is already around, including a comically pedantic Clarendon Press edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* with annotations and indexes. But virtually no reviews of all this have appeared in the literary heavies.

My theory is that the editors were not so much smothered as disgusted by the 1984 razzmataz of the popular Press: what the mob touches cannot be LITERATURE. Their ambivalence about Orwell is released. How embarrassing when good writers, like Dickens, Wells and Orwell, cast their pearls at the common man.

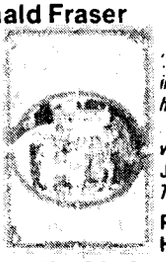
One of the lightest offerings has given me the most pleasure, these fine pictures by (or found by) Phillipa Scoones and John Thompson's brief but excellent biographical commentary. It deserves to reach the nostalgia market with its rare photographs of old London pubs and streets; to be a Christmas present for the many common readers who love the Orwell-like rather than the Orwellian (and who haven't even heard of the *TLS* or the *London Review of Books*); and also for intellectuals who want, somewhat jokily and furtively, to slip back into a little Orwell without being thought lowbrow.

Bernard Crick

BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS... V

In Search of a Past
Ronald Fraser

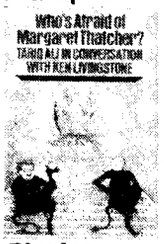
JUST PUBLISHED



'... quite exceptionally intelligent, honest and humane autobiography ... I pray it will be widely read'.
John Fowles in *The Guardian.*

Paperback £3.95
Hardback £15.00

Who's Afraid of Margaret Thatcher?
Ken Livingstone in conversation with Tariq Ali



'... an essential sequel to the unpolitical Citizen Ken *and a must for all Livingstone-fanciers'.*
New Statesman.

Paperback £2.95
Hardback £14.00

War Diaries
Jean-Paul Sartre

JUST PUBLISHED

'... enormously impressive, with all the crispness and manic intelligence which distinguish the early short stories ...'
The Observer.

Hardback £14.95

The Politics of Euromissiles
Diana Johnstone

JUST PUBLISHED

A lively and polemical look at the impact of the deployment of Cruise and Pershing on the European states. Essential reading for unilateralists everywhere.

Paperback £4.95
Hardback £18.50

I... Rigoberta Menchu
Edited by Elizabeth Burgos-Debray

'This is a powerful book which shocks, disturbs and moves to action – it must be read'.
Spare Rib.

Paperback £4.95
Hardback £18.50

Dockers and Detectives
Ken Worpole

'A valuable contribution to the history of writing and the writing of history'.
Raymond Williams in *The Guardian.*

Paperback £3.95
Hardback £14.00

...FROM VERSO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

own right that he ends up patronising her too: 'It is noteworthy how many intelligent people have, throughout her life, been willing to spend hours talking to Diana.'

The House of Mitford, then, simply adds 600 amusing pages to the autobiographical works of the Mitford family. There is no overview, no real objectivity. The Guinness book will in all probability come to be regarded as part of the phenomenon itself — a monument, perhaps, to the Philistinism from which it sprang.

Yet the family must continue to fascinate social historians and students of human nature. Lord Redesdale hated the Germans but was bowled over by Hitler in a single lunch, then reverted to his earlier opinion on the outbreak of war; Lady Redesdale did almost exactly the opposite. Of their seven children three were Fascists — Diana, Unity and Tom; one Communist, Jessica; one socialist in inverted commas turned Gaullist, Nancy; one Duchess, Deborah, and one apparently quite ordinary daughter, Pam.

Some day, perhaps, when the British are less besotted with the upper classes and memories of Empire, a genuine study of the Mitfords and their milieu will be made, and it will be the revelation of an era. □

Valuable questions

James Bentley

Observations on 'The Spiritual Situation of the Age'
ed. JÜRGEN HABERMAS *MIT Press* £28.50
The Crossman Confessions and Other Essays in Politics, History and Religion
ELIE KEDOURIE *Mansell Publishing* £16.50
Human Values in a Changing World: A Dialogue on the Social Role of Religion
DAISAKU IKEDA and BRYAN WILSON
Macdonald £9.95

TWO YEARS before Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany Karl Jaspers published his famous book *The Spiritual Situation of the Age.* Thirty-three years after Hitler's defeat Jürgen Habermas, the left-wing professor of philosophy at Frankfurt University, invited 50 leading German critics, writers and social scientists — all of them of a similar political persuasion — to write an extended essay on the same topic. Thirty-two responded and their essays, published in two volumes in 1979, created an extraordinary impact in West Germany. This volume consists of the 13 most important, translated by Andrew Buchwalter.

Every single essay conveys an urgent sense of anxiety. The social and political historian Hans Mommsen argues that in present-day Germany 'the burden of the Nazi past has not been lightened', and 'the historical consequences of the "Thousand Year Reich" have not been resolved'. He believes rather that the post-war social taboos that once prevented the adoption of overt Nazi attitudes have today lost their force. Albert Wellner of the University of Konstanz is deeply concerned that the Left in Germany should dissociate itself from political terrorism. Claus Offe analyses the widespread fears that his country may become ungovernable. Horst Ehmke (who is deputy leader of the SPD as well as a professor at Freiburg) writes about coping with the two Germanies, quoting Grillparzer's judgment that his country had developed 'from humanity through nationality to bestiality'.

In selecting his contributors, Habermas took the word 'spiritual' seriously and included leftist theologians. The Protestant Jürgen Moltmann of Tübingen is particularly scathing about a 'national church' which offers itself as a 'third force' in conflicts, always seeking mediation and reconciliation, never adopting critical positions or engaging in one-sided partisanship. Such a body, he argues, dare not allocate church funds even to fight racism, and 'can comment on vital national issues only when certain that it speaks for all groups, strata and classes of people'. The Catholic Professor Johann Baptist Metz wants the Left to take seriously a Christianity that can 'give voice to a passionate opposition to that world of exploitation and consumerism that desecrates humanity's divine image'. And, in a brilliant essay called 'Thou shalt have no other jeans before me', Dorothee Sölle (who teaches systematic theology in New York) begs us not to give up 'a tradition that regards bread and wine, fear and guilt, coitus and birth, death and the justice of the Kingdom of God as the unmarketable components of life'.

Elie Kedourie's essays, written over 25 years, show this acute professor of politics at London University increasingly concerned, like Moltmann, Metz and Sölle, with what he calls 'the tension between religion, ethics and politics'. He finds unacceptable the classic Tory Realpolitik spelled out by Lord Salisbury: 'the common sense of Christendom has always prescribed for national policy principles diametrically opposed to those that are laid down in the Sermon on the Mount'. In a moving essay on the character of Jewish history Kedourie points out that all through the Bible we find expressed 'mistrust of merely political authority, a questioning of its legitimacy and scepticism about the ability of rulers as such to act justly or safeguard the common weal'.

In the long essay on Richard Crossman that opens this book Kedourie notes that in office this socialist gradually began to feel as remote from the common man as any Whig grandee. He writes bitingly of 'the arbitrariness, the high handedness' of Crossman's style of government, as well as the frightening 'sense of unreality of Ministers who, despite their enormous powers and their control over the legislative factory, are hemmed in by crises which they cannot control or alleviate'. Conservatives too, Kedourie admits, are equally prone to senseless arbitrary government, 'however far-reaching its consequences on those who are subject to it'.

This is a rich book. Till reading Kedourie I did not know the French *Annales* school of historians was so passionate. I was enlightened by his two essays on Arnold Toynbee and moved by his anguish over the predicament of Israel today. I wish, though, he would translate quotations from German or French (or, if he won't, not let mistakes creep into them).

Professor Kedourie's thinking encompasses Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Daisaku Ikeda and Bryan Wilson talk about Buddhism as well. Ikeda is in fact Japanese leader of the world's

C. Dennis Pegge

The quartz watch and the trader

Filled with surpassing wonder
At what I could not explain
I asked the Indian trader
'How does it work?' — once again.

'You push that knob,' he told me.
'But how do right numbers appear
'Changing so accurately
'Displacing each, so clean and clear?'

'You push that,' he said again.
'And you can make the figures red.
'Look now, it's easy plain.'
'But how does it work?' I said.

'Can you reveal me this wonder,
'Reflection of nature afar,
'Lightning stroke, and thunder,
'The universe, man, atom, star?'

'Watch very good,' he said, 'no fobs,
'And cheap surely you'll agree.'
He then ably played its knobs
As on a piano before me.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

largest lay Buddhist movement. Wilson is an Oxford sociologist who till now has almost entirely confined his published writings to Christianity. In their preface to *Human Values in a Changing World*, they point out that Western readers familiar only with the other-worldly aspects of Christianity or Theravada Buddhism should realise that the Nichiren Buddhism of Ikeda and his followers has an essentially this-worldly orientation.

Almost immediately Daisaku Ikeda gives the lie to this contention by talking about the spiritual significance of corpses. 'Anthropologists and archaeologists consider various markings and signs of ceremonial burial on human bones to be an indication of some kind of religious feeling,' he says. 'Certainly, such markings suggest awe in the face of death, awareness of the possibility of an invisible post-mortem world, and perhaps an image of what that world might be.' So he asks Dr Wilson whether he thinks 'concern with death is always the most profound source of religion'. Inspired more by Durkheim than by death, Wilson replies that there are other sources too, including 'the celebration of the persistence and the renewal of the social group'.

The episodic nature of this book regrettably means that such differing approaches to the phenomenon of religion are never properly elucidated. Both men are to be congratulated for so clearly laying their thoughts out for inspection. Nichiren Buddhism, however relatively unknown in this country, is extremely important. This book contains many fine nuggets of information: on 'antidotes for suicide', on fate and karma, on 'sex for pleasure', on toleration, on 'religion as a basis for social revolution', on abortion.

Occasionally Ikeda indulges in wishful thinking that ignores the facts of human depravity. 'If more people followed Gandhi's example, many evils would be eliminated,' he says. True, but people don't. Again, agreeing with Bryan Wilson that abortion is a 'conceivable, absolutely last resort' in cases of rape and incest, he comments that 'it is more important to create social and moral conditions in which neither rape nor incest occurs' — without setting out any practical suggestions for achieving this.

I cannot help comparing Ikeda's stance on abortion with Dorothee Sölle's. She participated in the campaign to make abortion legal in Germany. At the same time she refused to go along with the slogan, 'My womb belongs to me', arguing that 'it merely acknowledges, without surpassing, the moral level of capitalism, which is always aware of "what belongs to me".'

Her stance is both complicated and defensible. Dorothee Sölle remains committed to women's freedom of choice and also to life, including the life of a foetus. But her second commitment takes effect only when women's freedom has been conceded. As she notes, 'We are living not in a Christian but in a secular state where the ever-diminishing minority of Christians has no right to impose ideas on those who think differently.' One might add that those who think as cogently as she does and also are willing to take political risks have an influence that far outweighs their numerical strength. □

ART

Stragglers

John Spurling

James Tissot
Barbican
Glyn Philpot
National Portrait Gallery
Modern Masters from the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection
RA

JAMES TISSOT and Glyn Philpot have both been excluded from art history's Great March of Modernism and it is characteristic of our revisionist times that both should now be enjoying large rehabilitatory exhibitions.

Tissot, born in 1836, was a contemporary of the Impressionists and a friend of several of them, especially Degas and Whistler, but after a successful decade in Paris in the 1860s his involvement with the Paris Commune drove him to take refuge in England in the 1870s. Combining the urban, fashionable side of Impressionism with a dash of sentimental narrative from the Pre-Raphaelites, he specialised in depicting the social life of the well-to-do middle classes in Victorian London. But although his most obvious skill was for female costume and the ostensible content of his pictures is negligible, not to say vapid, there is more to him than period charm.

Perhaps because he was a foreigner his sentimentality is of the lightest kind, without the dreadful pall of would-be moral significance that hangs over so many of his English contemporaries. Tissot's meetings and partings of lovers are transparently nothing but occasions for another hat and another confection of stripes or checks. The scene itself is therefore remarkably objective — perhaps no other painter gives such a straight sense of this section of the mid-Victorian world, especially its incidentals. The characters may be dull, but the settings and props are so full of detail and interest that you can virtually insert the story for yourself: here, set among the tangled spars and rigging of the Port of London, the opening pages of a Conrad; or, in the gracious garden of Tissot's own house in St John's Wood, a scene from Meredith.

Indeed the characters themselves — staring past each other or straight out at the viewer — seem most often to be waiting for somebody else to ginger up the action. This is what makes *Too*

National Portrait Gallery

Lady Melchett in 'romantically informal pose' by Glyn Philpot (1927)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Early one of Tissot's most memorable paintings. The unhappy little group of three ladies and one man standing at the centre of the empty ballroom, while servants peep mockingly round a door and the hostess is occupied giving instructions to the band, have accidentally created an anecdote and made themselves the focus of attention. Tissot was no satirist and seems on the whole to have shared his subjects' comfortably anonymous attitude to life, but, deliberately or not, he has left us a powerful reminder of the discreet boredom of the Victorian *bourgeoisie*.

Perhaps his best-known painting in this country (it belongs to the National Portrait Gallery) is the portrait of a military officer with waxed moustaches and vacuous expression who lounges elegantly on a *chaise longue* while smoking a cigarette and stretching out a pair of preternaturally long legs in red-striped trousers. Colonel Burnaby was in fact one of the most colourful and active figures of the Victorian Empire: explorer, socialite, writer, war-correspondent, balloonist, doughty fighter in colonial wars, he was six feet four inches tall, with a 46 inch chest, and was known to have walked downstairs carrying a pony under one arm. But as Tissot chooses to show him, you would take him, like the Scarlet Pimpernel, for the standard English silly-ass.

In later life, after the death of his Irish mistress, Tissot became or resumed being (for he had begun with costume pictures set in churches) very religious and made a whole new career back in his native country as an illustrator of the Life of Christ. Christ, however, was one person who definitely did live at the centre of his own and other people's lives and could hardly have been a less suitable subject for Tissot's art of the periphery.

Tissot gets a short entry in the 1979 *Oxford Companion to Art*, but Philpot is omitted altogether. Born in 1884 and very successful as a society portrait-painter in the years before and after the First War, he died in 1937 and was then more or less forgotten until Robin Gibson, who has organised and written the catalogue for the present exhibition, included one of his most striking paintings in a mixed show of 20th-Century Portraits in 1978. That glimpse of his best promised more than he could always deliver. He excelled at beautiful women in romantically informal poses and dark, rich colours, especially black (he was an admirer of Velasquez), but he could also turn in unusually lively official portraits — M.R. James the writer and academic, for instance; the politician Lord Esher; Katherine Stephen, the principal of Newnham College. However, when he attempted more ambitious, imaginative paintings with mythological or historical subjects which hark back to the academic aestheticism of the late 19th century, his imagination proved rather feeble and his style restless and derivative, as if he could never quite settle on his own identity.

In 1931 he went over to Modernism, or thought he did. It was a brave action, since it lost him most of his customers and severely reduced his income, but the tricks of flatness, high-keyed colour and dabbed brushstrokes hardly disguise the unregenerate Nineties aesthete. Two paintings, one done seven years before and one four years after this change to Modernism, make it clear how superficial the change really was. Both are of acrobats resting behind scenes, both are uneasy, unresolved works. The physical ugliness and sullen aggressiveness of the figures are at odds with the pallid, tentative manner in which they are painted. They suggest a man trapped between his own deeply ingrained sensitivity and a desire to take part in a harsher world outside, a kind of half-repressed urge to be disturbed.

The catalogue is reticent about Philpot's emotional life, but he was known as a kind and generous man and the warmth of his intimate affections is evident in the beautiful double portrait of his sisters and in the many portraits of his black servant Henry Thomas as well as of various young male protegés. If he had problems of identity when alone with his own imagination, he clearly had none in the presence of a sympathetic living sitter.

When Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza first began collecting modern paintings in 1960, the art-historical Great March was still proceeding. The selection of 123 of the Baron's 800-odd 19th- and 20th-century paintings — he has another equally spectacular collection of Old Masters inherited from his father — on show at the RA until 19 December provides a kind of digest of its main lines. From a gallery containing works by Manet, Monet, Degas, Pissarro, Renoir, etc, we pass to a second containing Cezanne, Gauguin, Van Gogh, Derain, Braque, a third devoted to Russian Constructivists, Kandinsky, Mondrian and Leger, a fourth mainly occupied by German Expressionists and Neue Sachlichkeiters with contributions from Picasso, Balthus and Chagall, a fifth by American Abstract Expressionists and at last — the Great March rather trailing away — to a sixth where contemporary British figurative artists such as Bacon, Freud, Kitaj and Andrews hold sway.

It is a breath-taking display since many of the paintings — at least in the first four galleries — are not just by masters but first-rate examples of their work. It was not merely for art-historical reasons that the Tissots and Philpots faded from view. Their eyes may have been sharp and their hands skilful, but their conceptions of the world were essentially second-hand. I don't know how the Baron contrives to live a normal life in his house in Gloucestershire, when every time he raises his eyes to a wall he must be rooted to the spot by a fresh thunderbolt of the imagination. □

THEATRE

Predators

Benedict Nightingale

Extremities
WILLIAM MASTROSIMONE *Duchess*

MANY PEOPLE will no doubt think that *Extremities* should not have been written at all or, once written, should have been promptly consigned to the shredder; and they could well be right. On the face of it, there's something opportunistic, and worse, about the whole exercise.

These days rape provokes more concern, more anger, more outrage than ever before; but those feelings are, of course, to be found at their most unambiguous and least dilute among women. To point out that men can directly experience it only as aggressors, not as victims, is by no means to say that no member of the sex should utter on the subject, unless he happens to be a rapist himself. By that reasoning, only killers or their dead victims could write plays about murder, or starving people about world hunger. But male dramatists would be wise to proceed, if at all, with great discretion and humility if they wish to avoid nasty accusations, such as that they're exploiting anxiety and pain to sensational ends.

William Mastrosimone comes perilously close to doing just that. It's rural New Jersey, in his rather coy description 'where the cornfield meets the highway': a rambling house occupied, so it seems, only by Helen Mirren in her bathrobe and one loud, noxious and rather blatantly symbolic wasp. Then in through the door comes a burly, unkempt Kevin McNally, asking if he can use the phone but all too rapidly making his intentions plain by ripping it from the wall. The sexual scavenger has arrived and, for a time, has things his own way. But somehow Miss Mirren manages to stretch out a hand, grab the wasp spray, squirt him in the eyes and then, while he's wincing and roaring, get the telephone cord wound tight round his windpipe. If Mr Mastrosimone really were the seamlessly realistic dramatist he seems to be, he'd know that the slightly wounded predator is liable to get vengeful and dangerous, not to say strong. Rape would speedily become necrophilia. Instead, we're asked to believe that Miss Mirren spends the moments between the end of that scene and the beginning of the next successfully trussing up the arms, legs, neck of the would-be rapist, as if playing cat's cradle with a piece of limp poultry.

Oh well, perhaps that comes under the heading of dramatic licence. In any case, Helen Mirren makes it more plausible than the actress I saw in the part in New York, Farrah Fawcett, since she's more of every kind of muscle: physical, emotional, mental, maybe even moral. It's what follows that raises the more important doubts. Mr McNally is soused with boiling water, trapped in the fireplace, jabbed with a pole, doused with kerosene to the sound of striking matches, struck with a hammer and promised death and burial in the garden by the formidable Mirren. As she stalks around with her spade, one begins to wonder if William Mastrosimone isn't the *nom de plume* of Sam Peckinpah. Certainly, the dramatic tension derives largely from a pretty morbid source. What, we ask ourselves, will she do next? Come at him with a chain-saw? And where will it all end? With odd fragments of Mr McNally adding texture to next year's compost?

There's clearly something here for every bondage-freak; yet the play as a whole is, let's agree, rather more than an overblown s-and-m party. It might more charitably be categorised as a didactic melodrama, not an altogether contemptible genre. For a start, Mastrosimone leaves us in no doubt that rape is a peculiarly horrible crime: 'tell me you want to make love . . . don't make it get ugly . . . see what you

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

...MEANWHILE THE SHOW MUST GO ON.
THEY'LL ALL PLAY THEIR PART IN THE STATE OF THE ART—
MICHAEL FRAYN, SALMAN RUSHDIE, SIR MICHAEL TIPPETT,
TREVOR GRIFFITHS, ANDREW LLOYD-WEBBER, LORD GOWRIE, THE
LONDON SINFONIETTA, PHOENIX DANCE COMPANY, ALESSANDRA FERRI,
THE GLYNDEBOURNE OPERA AND MANY MORE. BUT WAIT...
ISN'T SOMEONE MISSING?
HAS ANYBODY SEEN MELVYN?

THE ARTS REVIEW OF THE YEAR
PRESENTED BY MELVYN BRAGG
WEDNESDAY NIGHT AT 9·00
IN A LIVING ROOM NEAR YOU

4

A LONDON WEEKEND TELEVISION PRODUCTION FOR CHANNEL 4

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

made me do.' Somehow the attacker manages to convince himself it's her fault, not his, that he's suffocating her with a cushion in order to make her more compliant — and in that topsy-turvy logic he's not exactly alone. When Miss Mirren's room-mates return home and survey the scene, they're less than sympathetic with her, and not only because of her murderous designs. Terri nervously suggests a parallel with a violent sexual incident from her own past — 'it was my fault, I was dressed up like Tinkerbell.' Even the earnest social worker Pat accuses Marjorie, as the Mirren character is called, of being a sort of erotic provocation in herself.

And if your good friends have been conditioned to think like rapists, what chance do you stand with police and lawyers, judge and jury? Mastrosimone makes that unexceptionable point through the mouth of his villain, who slyly rehearses the not-improbable story he's concocted for the authorities and then manages half to convince Terri and Pat of its truth. Gradually Marjorie realises, not merely that she'd have to be dead to be believed, but that she's quite likely herself to be standing trial for GBH. And if she survived that — well, hasn't the rapist promised to come back and finish the business she succeeded in interrupting? That's the reason, and maybe the justification, for her savagery. Vindictiveness lasts as long as she feels threatened and, when she no longer does, dissipates and disappears.

The last-gasp revelation which allows this peaceful ending owes less to nature than to art, or rather artifice; and one can't claim as much as that for the characterisation of Terri and Pat, which is feebly done. Would even a travesty social worker really ask a friend so furiously off-balance that murder could any second become massacre, 'How do you feel about your situation?' And yet, in spite of everything, Mastrosimone's conclusion is plain and pertinent. If we find his Marjorie's conduct less than lovely, the blame properly belongs, not just to individual brutes and beasts and sexual vandals, but to a society sadly inadequate at protecting such as her against them. □

OPERA

Low-cal cream

Andrew Clements

Der Rosenkavalier
Covent Garden
From the House of the Dead
Dominion

THE ROYAL OPERA's new **Rosenkavalier**, which opened last week, had the kind of glamorous trappings which tempt disaster: Georg Solti as conductor, celebrating the 25th anniversary of his Covent Garden debut, John Schlesinger as producer and a starry cast led by Kiri te Kanawa's Marschallin and Agnes Baltsa's Octavian. But this glossy package proved to be different from many that have preceded it: the production may not be perfect, but the musical aspects of it especially are very fine. More than most operas *Rosenkavalier* can cramp a producer's style; translate it from the specific Viennese locale and the work is liable to collapse like a badly cooked meringue. Like it or not, one is stuck with a period piece.

Both Schlesinger and his designer William Dudley have swallowed that hard fact. Dudley goes for lusciousness — a first act of soft drapes and *trompe l'oeil*; the second in a house for Faninal that oozes with conspicuous consumption; the third, less successfully, yielding a set within a set as the tavern room is seen surrounded by dark corridors in which the intriguers lurk and scurry. Though it looks fussy and uningratiating, this distancing of the action — one trembles to describe it as alienation — has a subtle influence on the impact of the act, defusing the emotional charges of the exits and entrances with which it abounds, and suggesting that one of Schlesinger's intentions may have been to strip away excess sentimentality (not too much or there would be nothing left) and to concentrate on the opera as a comedy with music, rather than a gooey confection around an insubstantial story with some ravishing musical moments.

In practice, though, the production adheres very much to convention, cramming busy detail into anything which will take it — the Marschallin's levée, already copiously larded by Strauss, gets yet more local colour — but playing the big scenes straight and somewhat unimaginatively. The moments about which the three acts pivot — the Marschallin's monologue, the presentation of the silver rose and the final trio — were consistently dry-eyed, however beautifully they were sung.

In such a context perhaps one couldn't expect Kiri te Kanawa to be an affecting Marschallin, though she has two major assets — she looks the right age (Strauss specifically stated the character was 32) and makes an unfailingly beautiful sound — and at no point is her acting anything less than convincing, and is often delicately controlled. Agnes Baltsa's voice, less creamy and with a penetrating edge, makes a perfect foil and she caught the rather overbearing impulsiveness of Octavian well, while in Barbara Bonnet's Sophie there were some startlingly fine moments, suggesting an outstanding performance when coupled with more stage experience. Aage Haugland's Ochs was a revelation to those who have only seen and admired him in Wagner, a fine comic portrait, richly coloured and sturdily sung. Underpinning this musically sensitive account always was Solti, making his own contribution to a low-calorie *Rosenkavalier*; some may have preferred a more sensuous way with the waltzes, more langourous tempi when the clowning stops, but his approach seemed to me perfectly balanced, with detail etched with absolute dramatic assurance.

Few words only to salute Welsh National Opera's searing staging of Janacek's **From the House of the Dead**, which the company brought to London as part of its all too short season at the Dominion. It has immediately joined my personal short list of great opera productions, alongside Dvorak's *Rusalka* with which it shares a producer, David Pountney, and which I only caught up with at the Coliseum a few weeks ago. In the Dominion the intensity of this Janacek staging was perhaps reduced; in a smaller theatre it would be truly overwhelming. Few 20th-century operas pack such a punch, especially when presented with such commitment and intelligence. It is truly a company opera, without any stars; characters emerge from the chorus to tell their stories only to lapse back into anonymity, and the work is bound together by symphonic rather than narrative force. Though Janacek took some liberties with Dostoyevsky's novel, turning the chronology inside out and reordering events, he preserved the spirit of it magnificently; if we did not realise it before, *From the House of the Dead* is one of the great humanist operas of the century and WNO deserves unending gratitude for impressing that fact upon us. □

FILMS

Worm-eaten

Christopher Priest

Dune (PG)
Empire

DAVID LYNCH'S last film was *The Elephant Man*, pared down, quiet in tone, the horrors internalised, monochrome images of a grotesque and abnormal body inducing grotesque behaviour in others. No next film could be more different than *Dune*, where the grotesquerie is externalised and the horrors are monochrome in another way. It is a new kind of old filmic sci-fi: the special effects and the sense of sheer scale that *Star Wars* and its sequels have prepared us for, with the derring-do for the most part absent.

Star Wars is invoked appropriately; George Lucas's film was a kind of anthology of science fiction imagery drawn from the generality of the stories and novels published over the previous half-century. Much of its appeal was familiarity: archetypes not only of character — the boy hero, the dark villain and so on — but also of locale. The sandy wastes of Tattooine, which dominated the first quarter of the film, were a half-conscious reference to Frank Herbert's novel *Dune*, first published in 1963 and a major bestseller for the last decade and a half. To some this is a mysterious success: the novel is slow and tortuous, much given to intrigues and machinations, talked out rather than acted out, with a considerable part of the plot narrated in italicised thoughts. Mr Lynch, in writing and directing the movie, has inexplicably picked up this clumsy mannerism and barges in with voiced-over thoughts at every dramatic moment.

The story is arbitrarily structured: the planet Arrakis happens to be the only place in the universe where a certain spice is found and, for reasons told but not proven, everyone in the universe wants it. Odder still, this spice — not a plant, apparently, but more likely worm-droppings — is the only useful thing on a world entirely covered by desert. Living in the desert are the aforesaid worms, who appear to eat nothing but sand. (*A vampire!* voice-over-thinks

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one of the characters, peering down its throat. But we digress.) The various leading families are all scheming to control the spice, machinate furiously in palace corridors, send in occupying armies, etc, and never mind the native 'Fremen' who have been waiting for aeons for their Messiah. It all sounds grand-scale material, with more than a passing resemblance to the New Testament, and cinematic antecedents in *Nicholas and Alexandra* and *Flash Gordon* (the wobbly special effects are often reminiscent of the recent re-make, also from the de Laurentiis stable), but in fact it's turgid stuff, being pretentious and banal in one go.

Whether the film will put the required bums on seats remains to be seen — estimates of its budget vary between $45 and $60 millions — but my guess is that it will not, once the fans of the equally turgid book have satisfied their curiosity. It selfconsciously eschews the visceral attractions of the *Star Wars* movies but replaces them with only high-sounding phrases from an officer élite, who hiss warnings and utter threats while their black-garbed, shaven-headed womenfolk get themselves to nunneries and bring vile child-stars into this barren world.

Some of the performances are dignified, remarkably under the circumstances, notably those from Max von Sydow and Jurgen Prochnow. (*I like this lord*, voice-over-thinks von Sydow at the back of Prochnow's head, in another moment of hilariously inept writing.) And Francesca Annis is attractively enigmatic as the Messiah's mother, although far too young for the part. An earlier script apparently called for the Oedipus theme, to the horror of Frank Herbert, but this casting inadvertently revives undercurrents of it, particularly in the long scene where Kyle MacLachlan (the Messiah) and Miss Annis are sweating it out in the desert together. As for the much-anticipated performance by Sting: his fans should know in advance that he is hardly in the picture. He was apparently hired for his demoniacal grin; he uses it in all three of his scenes.

Dune is a profoundly silly film, heavy and portentous in its trappings, but at heart trivial and irrelevant to anything real. Even as a spectacle it lacks conviction: the worms are impressive but don't do much, the spaceships wobble, many of the explosions are semi-transparent. The whole things leads to a pantomime-like finale, with all the principals, good guys and bad, standing in a circle while MacLachlan and Sting slug it out to a predictable conclusion. Outside, it begins to rain. Peace has been imposed by war, etc. To paraphrase another memorable line of dialogue: the film is worth ten times its own weight in water. □

Among this week's contributors:

CHRISTOPHER PRIEST's most recent novel, *The Glamour*, was published this autumn by Cape. He replaces John Coleman, who is ill.

PETER FORBES is writer in residence in Swindon.

billboard

Theatre

HALF MOON THEATRE 213 Mile End Rd. 01-790 4000. Chris Bond's DRACULA until 22 Dec Mon-Sat 7.30pm. Tickets from £2. 'Dazzling . . . played to the hilt' T. Out. 'Plenty of humour & suspense . . . hilarious' C. Limits. 'Great fun' Times.

NATIONAL THEATRE 01-928 2252
Olivier (open stage) 'Coriolanus', 'The Ancient Mariner', 'A Little Hotel on the Side'. Lyttelton (proscenium stage) 'She Stoops to Conquer', Cottesloe (small auditorium) 'The Passion'. See daily press for details and times or ring recorded information 01-928 2256.

SADLER'S WELLS THEATRE EC1 01-278 8916 (5 lines) CC group sales 01-930 6123. From 18 Dec-5 Jan **Sadler's Wells Royal Ballet** in repertoire of four programmes. Closed 24 & 25 Dec. Perfs. eves 7.30pm, Sat mats 2.30pm, Wed 19 Dec mat 2pm, Wed 26 Dec mat 2.30pm.

ROYAL SHAKESPEARE COMPANY
01 628 8795/638 8891 24hr info 628 2295
BARBICAN THEATRE
PETER PAN — few seats avail for eve perfs 7-10 & 14-17 Jan
THE PIT
BREAKING THE SILENCE by Stephen Poliakoff 14 & 15 (mat & eve) Dec
CHRIST CHURCH SPITALFIELDS LONDON E1
THE CRUCIBLE by Arthur Miller 13-18 (mats & eves) Dec
THE WINTER'S TALE — 20-22 Dec
TESTIMONY transcript of McCarthy hearings 18 Dec

Jazz

JAZZ AT NEW END Jazz Tête à Tête presents the best British Jazz — live Thurs, Fris, & Sats 10.30pm-1am at New End Theatre, 27 New End, Hampstead, London NW3. Bookings 01-435 6053.

Bookshop

FRENCH'S THEATRE BOOKSHOP — the finest & most comprehensive collection of theatre books, plays & recordings. 52 Fitzroy Street, London W1P 6JR. Tel: 01-387 9373 (24 hour answering service).

MITI KI GADI TARA ARTS GROUP

THE LITTLE CLAY CART

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
4a CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON W14.
Dec 11 - 14 & 18 - 22
7.45 pm. (Dec 11 at 7.30 pm)

OVAL HOUSE THEATRE
52/54 KENNINGTON OVAL
SE11 5SW
Jan 9 - 13 7.30 pm.
Box Office: 735 2786

FRINGE BOX OFFICE: 379 6002 TARA ARTS GROUP 871 1458

THE JOEYS

"...so sharp and funny it hurts."
New Musical Express

SHOULDER TO SHOULDER at the NFT 13-20 Dec

To mark the 65th Anniversary of the first woman MP the NFT is screening the BBC series *Shoulder to Shoulder* about the Pankhurst family and their influence on the cause of women's suffrage.
Tickets — season £11.10
ordinary £2.40
standby £1.85

Thurs. 20 Dec 6.15pm THE RT. HON BARBARA CASTLE talks about Women's Roles in Parliament and Parliamentary attitudes to women.
Tickets £2.10, standby £1.60

Membership from 70p weekly
BOX OFFICE 01-928 3232
NATIONAL FILM THEATRE South Bank, London SE1

GLC QUEEN ELIZABETH HALL
26-30 DECEMBER 7.45pm
TICKETS: £3, £4, £5
BOX OFFICE: 01-928 3191
(CREDIT CARDS: 01-928 8800)
INFORMATION: 01-928 3002

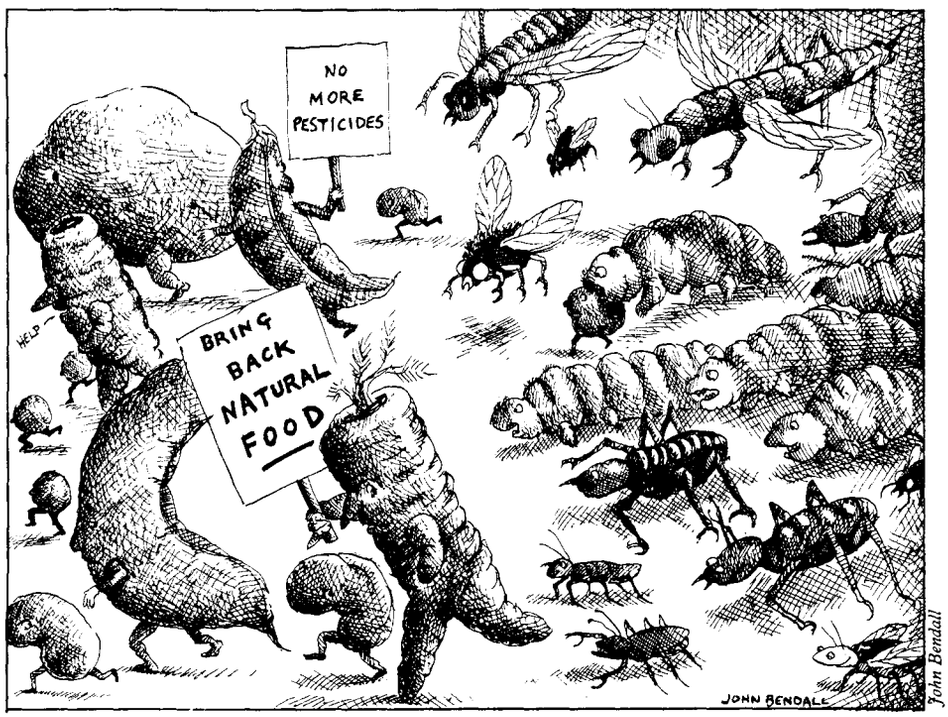
LIVE ON THE GLC SOUTH BANK

keep GLC Working for the Arts in London

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Toxin from a tea leaf

Peter Forbes



John Bendall

I RECENTLY CAME across a wholefoods catalogue which claimed that traces of *fertiliser* remain in the food we buy from supermarkets. You might as well complain that the air we breathe is contaminated with atoms that once resided inside Adolf Hitler. Of course traces of fertiliser are incorporated into the tissue of the plant — they *are* the tissue of the plant. It is appalling that 156 years after the synthesis of the organic chemical urea, 87 years after Buchner demonstrated the biological activity of a pulverised and filtered organic ferment, at a time when insulin is being synthesised by molecular-biological techniques, the false dichotomy between organic and synthetic is still causing such havoc.

A top-of-the-head list will tell you just how benign natural substances are: *Salmonella,* rabies, tetanus, the ergot fungus that grows on rye and causes LSD-like hallucinations, the ricin from castor oil seeds that maybe killed Georgi Markov. Nature is a far more inventive organic chemist than man and wages chemical warfare on a massive scale. The antibiotics that have proved so useful to us are, in nature, merely a means by which one fungal organism kills another, and the armoury of preservatives and pesticides has been developed to combat equally powerful agents of decay. The fungus that grows on rotting food is no prettier than the fungicide used against it.

It is clear from their lumping together of pesticides and fertilisers that the anti-chemicals brigade can't tell a toxin from a tea leaf. Many pesticides are dangerous, especially the organophosphorus compounds that affect the nervous system, but the persistent organochlorines like DDT, despite their lethal effect on birds, have shown no toxic effects in human beings during 40 years of use. And, curiously, many of the other chemicals feared by the new organicals — the preservatives — are actually very simple, old-fashioned and often natural chemicals: ascorbic acid (vitamin C), the tocopherols (vitamin E), tartaric acid, all used as anti-oxidants; lecithin, found in all vegetable and animal cells and used as an emulsifier; sulphur dioxide, benzoic acid esters and sorbic acid, used as preservatives. Even the compound that has become notorious as the archetypal disgusting synthetic additive, monosodium glutamate, is only a salt of glutamic acid, one of the natural amino acids present in proteins. And its supposed role in the Chinese Restaurant Syndrome (a burning sensation at the back of the neck, radiating to the arms and back) has never been confirmed in repeated tests.

In the popular mind, chemicals and foodstuffs are totally distinct classes, but actually the boundaries between them are vague. An assortment of foods such as Cheddar cheese, Chianti wine and soy sauce contain tyramine, a sympathomimetic agent related to adrenaline. This can interact with antidepressant drugs to produce a hypertensive crisis. Purified tyramine is itself used as a diagnostic agent.

All chemicals are natural, even synthetic ones. The world is made of chemicals in transformation, and there is no escape from the underlying chemistry of life. It is appalling that expensively educated people don't know how plants grow — the simple chemistry of photosynthesis and the nitrogen cycle. The chemical elements exist in a realm where the dichotomy organic/synthetic has no meaning — they are the ur-stuff, the simple building blocks of organic complexity. What is interesting is that organic systems are often crucially dependent on the supply of one chemical element — there is always a limiting factor to growth. If it is, say, nitrogen that is the limiting factor (as it often is), addition of nitrogen to the soil, in any form assimilable by the plant, will do the trick — nitrogenous fertiliser or manure: it's all the same to the plant, and will be incorporated into its tissue.

As for pesticides, it is very easy for armchair consumers to insist that no traces of them should remain in their food, but let them take their passion for organically grown food to its logical conclusion — growing their own — and the picture changes. The prospect of fat broad beans receding before a swarthy tide of blackfly is usually enough to make them reach for the spray gun. And if that doesn't get them, the cabbage fly or potato blight will.

The organic food syndrome is a kind of cargo cult in reverse. In the one case, simple islanders believe that, come the Millennium, all the desirable and hitherto unattainable cargo of Western technological goods will be delivered to them. According to the anthropologist Peter Worsley, to prepare for this they 'abandon their gardens, kill off their livestock, eat all their food, and throw away their money'. For sophisticated Westerners the cargo is a load of manure, and to attain the state of oneness with nature they abandon their credit cards, unplug their electrical appliances, burn their bridges and throw away their money. The superstition is the same. □

If you wish to keep your

NEW STATESMAN

in good condition you should use a binder. It holds a half-year's copies and costs only £4.50 (£8.50 for two).

Please send remittance to:

NEW STATESMAN
14-16 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU

TELEVISION

Hugo Williams

Rent act

NEARLY EVERY DAY last week there was one of those sociological peep-shows for the committed (but prurient) viewer like myself. For her **Rent Boys** (BBC-2), Su Carroll had got special permission from the Director General to film the male prostitutes of Manchester at work, using hidden cameras in vans. From the moment her jazzy, attractive titles sprung on to our screens in neon — Rent Boys!!! — we knew that her heart was in the wrong place, just like our own.

Here was something sharp and commercial for the Eighties. Strut your stuff! And the rents themselves knew exactly how to balance our diet of pity and porn: 'Dad used to play around

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with me, wank me and all that stuff. That's one reason why I left home and became rent. To feed meself.' We were given a close-up of another rent's mouth as he described how he preferred to give oral sex to old men because they had to come quicker. He himself hoped to take out a rent boy of his own when he grew up.

Some of the refinements of the trade had a cosy, Northern ring: 'You get some likes to be 'it wi' a fish. Then there's elastic bands, pee on 'em and that. There's some wants you to go to the toilet in their mouths while they're masturbatin' and wearing women's underwear.' One of the finds of the show was a fat black gay who appeared with his mountainous white mother. 'Dad used to come home drunk and give her £5 on Fridays, but we were all right, me being rent from 13.' Did his mother feel 'strange' about accepting money from her child? 'I did at first, then things brightened up for us. He 'aint a bad kid.'

Most punters are married men on their way home from the office: solicitors, city councillors and a magistrate who finds it particularly hard to fine certain rents. Like their clients, most rents are straight: 'I just do a hand-job on them. I think it's dirty, but it's not the same if you use your hand, if you're taking your bird out.' One rent's wife said she objected to clients soliciting her husband while they were out together. Was Paddy straight or gay? she was asked. Straight, Paddy thought. His wife knew better: 'He isn't just rent. He gets something out of it.' Paddy smiled as if he had just won the pools.

Just Sex (C4) was the same sort of thing, only indoors: 'A look at sex as the commodity which is bought and sold in every sexual encounter.' Sex, as depicted in this well-packaged progamme, emerged as a modern consumer durable, suitable for Christmas and birthdays, for the man who has everything. 'Women have got this product that men want,' said the first student consulted, 'and they sell it in as many ways as they can.' 'Women have got very few skills,' said a thoughtful, bald man. 'Sex is a financial transaction between two unequal classes.' Every time he said something like this, a furious dark-haired student was made to repeat her concept that the oldest profession was 'perpetrating the whole attitude of men to women', which she found totally unacceptable. 'Men should jolly well get their sexual urges under control.' An old working woman remembered the 'tally man' with some affection: 'If my mother hadn't got the money they'd go upstairs for a moment. It was quite accepted and the tradesmen didn't mind knocking off a few bob.'

Most worrying of all these apparently campaigning shows is **Child Sex Abuse** (C4). The second of three programmes concentrated on 'anatomically correct dolls' which are currently used in child therapy in the States, where one in ten children is sexually abused before 18. In these dolls, rudimentary orifices and organs are clearly visible, but hardly noticeable to children with no experience of them. The dolls are used for finding out exactly what has been done to abused children in an area where language is traditionally bankrupt. 'We use this pink satin for the vagina,' said a woman who is starting to manufacture the dolls in the UK. 'We did try this cotton, but it was too dull. It needs to be shiny. The mouth needs to be slippery too.' We were allowed to watch a session with the dolls. 'What would you call this?' asked a doll operator. 'A willy,' said one child. 'A bomper,' said another. A third thought it was a sausage. If these kids had been tampered with, we learnt, they would have tried to put the genitals together. 'These ones weren't even aware of vaginas. They never looked for anuses.'

A video showing a child who *had* been abused was in black and white. The child made inconclusive use of her doll, but during therapy her parents learn that their three-year-old son had also had that 'stick' put up him. We saw a playlet teaching children how to respond to sexual approach. They were to turn to their malefactor and sbout 'No!' He would then remove his hand and look embarrassed. But wasn't it trust that was the principal casualty in child rape? 'Remember the shame and the blame always belong to the grown-up,' said a grown-up, compounding the problem. A helpline, 041-357-1774, open for two hours after the show, seemed like a cry in the wastes of eternity.

Peacocks, Parasites and the Puzzle of Sex (BBC-2) asked the question so many women are asking today: Are men really necessary? Sex, said a young man with very tight jeans snagging his crotch, was a 'remarkably silly way to reproduce'. Hundreds of thousands of species, after all, didn't have a male in sight. What was it then that made females so willing to share their precious genes with those unreliable strangers? (Apart from their appalling taste in trousers.) The answer — heterosexist as all getout — seems to be that we need sex to provide variation, not pair-bonding after all. Gene-mixing allows us to find different 'niches' in unreliable surroundings. Sex, it seems, isn't as stupid as it looks. It is nature's way of accommodating uncertainty in a harsh environment. Quality and innovation are what's needed to survive the nasty bugs we are infested with by creating diversity and staying ahead in the arms race we call our body. Why does the peacock stagger about under that perilous contraption of his? He's trying to tell his hen that he is winning the battle with the thousands of parasites that are trying to destroy him. Listen to his cry some time. □

Weekend competition

No 2852 **Set by Margaret Rogers**

Modern mnemonic verses to help us to remember what M3 or NACODS or hacker or any other contemporary acronym or jargon word stands for/means. Max. 8 lines. By Wednesday *2 January 1985.*

No 2849 **Set by E.O. Parrott**

Short rhymed folk sayings about aspects of contemporary urban life.

Report **By PC 49**

This comp. puts me in mind of what we used to say down at the nick about the flash Harry who has a smart answer for everything. You lot want to watch it. You're getting too clever by half —

AUBERON WAUGH
on Sir Keith Joseph:
"... it is nothing less than the spectre of wine in boxes which makes me bay for the blood of this class traitor, and will have me on the streets in the summer, arms linked and chanting: 'The middle classes, united, have never been defeated'."

CHRISTOPHER FILDES
on corsets:
"Those who make corsets will be pleased, and those who wear them may be less pleased to learn that the Department of Trade has imposed a quota, limiting the import of corsets from Hong Kong. That, says the Department, goes for braces too, and garters, and parts of brassieres made of fine animal hair (I say ...). They are all being kept out with a device supplied by the Common Market, and described as a Basket Extractor. I cannot wait to see this illustrated in one of those small, square advertisements in the Sunday papers, but imagine that it works on the same principle as a shoehorn."

FERDINAND MOUNT
on alienation:
"... it is the fear of crowds which is responsible for some of the most ghastly effusions by intellectuals in the 20th century."

THE SPECTATOR
75p WEEKLY
AT YOUR NEWSAGENT

"... The most entertaining and best-written weekly in the English language."
GRAHAM GREENE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and certainly, I have to report, too clever for this particular competition. The shredder has been put under considerable strain this week dealing with all those fancy little poems which didn't sound at all the kind of thing one might casually and absent-mindedly include in one's conversation over a cuppa in the canteen. Two Newtons for each of those saws which came somewhere near sounding as though they already existed.

When tax-cuts appear, elections be near.

Gin before one, business ill-done.
NOEL PETTY

Letterhead flashy, business trashy.

Vicars' capers sell papers.
V. ERNEST COX

Juries which are out for long
Always get their verdicts wrong.
GERARD BENSON

The franker the matings the better the ratings
STANLEY J. SHARPLESS

White jury, black face; goodbye strong case
MARK AMBROSE

When days be dry the cabs cruise by,
But come the rain, all gone again.
JOHN WARDROPER

Car wash on Sunday, rain on Monday
KEN RUDGE

There's many a louse creeps in the House.
T. GRIFFITHS

Be you a saint or be you a sinner
The man from the Pru calls during your dinner

Give up waiting, walk instead;
The bus will follow where you tread.
N.J. WARBURTON

A good circulation involves titillation.
DAVID TOLEY

Family fight, lawyer's delight
KATE SHORT

If doctor don't know why you're ill
He'll prescribe same old pill
TONY BLACK

Whatever happens at the pits,
the *Sun* will rise on bums and tits

Blandly bossy, glossy, glib —
Bottom dollar he's a Lib.
RUFUS STONE

Cross a copper, come a cropper
PETER NORMAN

When *Standard* placard's wet and dripping
Time is ripe for asset stripping.

Rain at six, or snow, or sleet,
Taxis vanish off the street.
D.A. PRINCE

To be said in school

When Sir gets out the overhead projector,
You may soon see the school inspector.
GEORGE SIMMERS

It's a sad but real fact, MPs talk but seldom act.
GEORGE COWLEY

Naseem Khan

Chat's show

CHRISTMAS started many months ago at Chat's Palace in Hackney. If you'd passed by the big, tacky building in September, you'd have seen a notice going up. 'Christmas Show' it said confidently. And then — more mysteriously — 'Devising Week'.

Since the old library turned into a community centre some ten years ago, the team of workers has organised a Christmas show whose reputation has spread beyond the borough not so much for what it is — though it's always reportedly been fun — as for how it's been done. At the beginning it was normal: professionals were hired to come and do a show. Over the years, however, things have changed. First, the professionals were overtaken by the locals, who, for the first few years, had been wallpaper to the productions. Then, last year, Chat's threw out the prepared text. Instead they adopted the concept of the week-long 'devising session'. In that time anyone could come in and help create the show from scratch. The result would theoretically be a genuinely collective effort.

In theory it sounds a fine thing, the notion that everyone can be their own creator. But habits of thought die hard and it would be strange not to feel any doubts or reservations. The territorial divisions between writer, actors and consumers have been clearly marked for generations; blurring them, as Chat's proposes, raises many questions. There are the cynical questions — is it really such an open process? (We all know the stories of the community muralists who let the community fill in their outlines.) And there are the practical ones — can a play really emerge though such a process? Or will it be like many committee decisions, the most anodyne option?

There is no way to find out except to try it. So there I was, on 17 September, a rainy Monday, nervously picking my way to Chat's Palace upstairs room for the first devising session of the week. Usually journalists are protected people, hovering in corners with discreet notebooks. Not here. There are few rules to a devising session, but one of them is that there can be no observers. Everybody is expected to be a participant. On the wall the handful of rules to what Chat's call their 'Contract' are written. There's the caveat about involvement; there's the ruling that the decision of one session must be respected by later ones. (Each session must build on the work of the previous one.) And there's the practice that no one's contribution can ever be rubbished by the group, however daft it might be.

So there it is. A few rules, a dozen people, lots of paper and a play to make. In a week.

Amazingly, it works. By the middle of the week, a theme had been decided. By the end there were a story, characters and setting. More, a detailed scenario had been turned over to a commissioned writer (Shirley Barry) with instructions — like a bespoke tailor — to make the final play up to its specifications. This she dutifully did, bringing it back to the group for fittings and alterations.

But the success of the process was not an automatic proving of the collective principle. It worked in this case because it had been so meticulously thought out in advance by the show's director, Rene Rice, on the basis of last year's shortcomings. Chat's shows, he said, had always been high on spectacle but low on comprehensibility. The bran-tub, throw-everything-in style of working made for a haphazard and unsatisfactory free-for-all. So he invited volunteers this year to explore certain lines of thought. Firstly, we were asked to fling out, in a 'brainstorming session', names of any book, film, play that had ever moved us. *Bambi, ET, Gormenghast, High Noon* — it was an odd list that slowly grew on the wall sheets. It was obvious that there were certain broad categories of stories: Rags to Riches, Ill-Starred Love, Battle Against the Odds, Long Journey Home were the categories we discerned. The large group divided into small ones and each picked one example and tried to encapsulate its story in four sentences. The result was passed onto the next group who cut out any further extraneous detail. We broke them down into polarities — good versus bad. But what constituted goodness and badness? Rene asked. More lists grew on the crowded wall. What possible resolving mechanisms were there? Suggestions stretched from magic to fortitude.

Two days later, I went back and there was the theme — the oppression of one group by another; individuals' attempts to change it. The groups turned into wonderful circus animals on the one hand and mafia hit men in the pay of an ageing film star.

How could we connect them? By the time Friday came and Chat's workers were rigid with exhaustion, it was all there — an odd, deeply moral and rather touching tale: *Sawdust: or Who Stole the Fun of the Fair.*

What does it all add up to? A fair measure of enjoyment and commitment for a start. The devising session — genuinely undirected — felt as if one was planning a treat, like being able to buy your friends anything you wanted for Christmas. The central core of local participants has slowly broadened (though their overall inexperience meant less work on Shirley Barry's script than I or she thought would take place). As opening night (Wednesday 12 December) approached, undoubted strains of working on a strongly atmospheric play with, this year, 50% unblooded actors showed. Only a live audience will be able to say how finally successful it is for them.

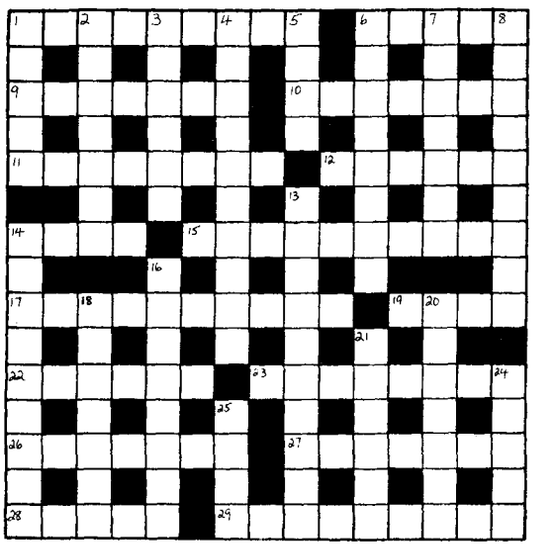
But there is no doubt that the process worked, whatever the travails of production. Interestingly, it didn't produce a play that sounded as if it had been churned out by a mechanical writing machine. *Sawdust* is quirky, individualistic and more than a little bizarre: far from the uniform product often feared from the collective process. □

Sawdust *will run until 12 January.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Weekend Crossword 1463

PRIZES: £5 Book Tokens for the first three correct solutions opened. Entries to Crossword 1463, New Statesman, 14-16 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU, by first post 31 December.



Name .....

Address .....

.....

.....

.....

ACROSS

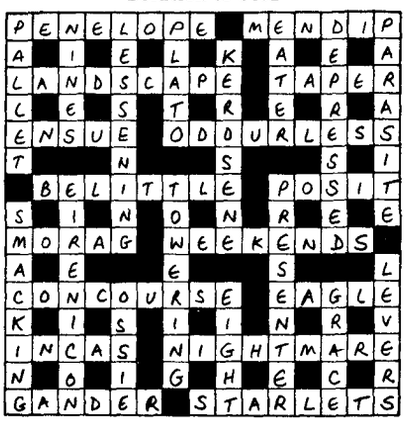
1. Contrived to be nearly arrived and wholly gone (9)
6. What the wheelbarrow holds for a gardening expert (5)
9. Place in Thailand or Rangoon (7)
10. The uselessness of us being without a male (7)
11. The sturdiest shed lets the heavens inside (8)
12. Novelist born before poetess (6)
14. Quality of sound needed for old movie star (4)
15. Short day too long for the lonely? (10)
17. Plays in one dressed up as an islander (10)
19. School which gives you your money back (4)
22. Provided by Special Branch organisation, it offers security (6)
23. Winner spends time in Chopin variations (8)
26. Something on board makes police carry weapons (7)
27. Sculptor who makes a kind of record with stone in Germany (7)
28. Original play? (5)
29. The deep is set free for the winner of the race (9)

DOWN

1. An accident caught those who did not take care (5)
2. Avenue where one mother goes up with her child (7)
3. A loud attack makes one scared (6)
4. Worker who lays emphasis on the source of the coal (10)
5. The point in a fellow being depressed (4)
6. Detective who makes game go up into cover (8)
7. Article I crave badly from greed (7)
8. A wise man and a child go round the East to reach understanding (3,6)
13. Sportsman who has to dispense with embracing a girl (10)
14. Surface pit worker? (9)
16. Africans give a short answer about heights (8)
18. See the number on the vehicle indicates a place in Europe (7)
20. In which there are a lot of oarsmen showing temper in the wrong term (7)
21. It is Medusa's turn to be entertained (6)
24. There is evidently nothing catchy in this composition (5)
25. Kingsley Martin as novelist? (4)

SETSQUARE

Solution to 1462



Prizewinners to 1462

Jacqueline Nicholl (Oxford)
O. M. Parkinson (Newton Abbot, Devon)
G. W. Wendon (London NW3)

★ Classified Ads ★ Phone 01-251 5487 ★

HEARTSEARCH

'A COWARDS soul is mine — I tremble in the worlds storm troubled sphere'. Man invites woman, (about 50) to join him for an intense, beauteous relationship. Box 4064.

ARE YOU a lively minded individual 18-80, enjoying the arts, discussions, conferences, rambles, dancing? The Progressive League caters for Mind, Body and intellectual Stimulus. And it's so cheap. Ring 01-452 8358.

ATTRACTIVE, INTELLIGENT 39 year-old redhead, enjoys life but prefers to share it. Contact me — photograph and 'phone number appreciated. Worcestershire or surrounding area. Box 4065.

ATTRACTIVE, LIVELY women (3) left/leftish, N. London/W. Sussex, separately seek similar intelligent, warm man, 35-50, for fun, Xmas-sharing, hopefully much more. Reply today with phone no! Box 4085.

ATTRACTIVE, PROFESSIONAL man (58), loves arts, seeks attractive, sensual, non-smoking woman, slim/medium (any age to 53), any race/circumstance for warm friendship/enjoyments. Pref. London/surrounding areas. Box 4056.

BLACKPOOL, LANCS: gentleman, sixties, slim, very presentable, affectionate, humanitarian politics, seeks close friendship or correspondence with lady similar age, interests: music, art, seaside, romance. Box 4073.

BLOKE, 36, GRADUATE: enjoys cinema, offbeat theatre, social life, pubs, travel. Social policy job. Leftish but not active. Would like to meet independent woman for committed relationship. London. Box 4076.

CHRISTMAS WISH: I'm a man. One year from now I want to be looking into my love's eyes. If you're 45/55 you maybe she! Box 4079.

DATELINE'S PSYCHOLOGICALLY accurate introductions lead to pleasant friendships, spontaneous affairs and firm, lasting relationships including marriage. All ages, all areas. Free details: Dateline Computer Dating, Dept. (7NS), 23 Abingdon Rd, London W8. Tel. 01-938 1011.

Advertisement Deadline for
Issue dated 4 Jan. 1985 is
21 December — if in doubt
'phone first **01-251 5487.**

CLASSIFIED RATES:
£7.80 per cm, 31p. per word,
Heartsearch 24 words at **£4**
including BOX, **26p** extra words.

DEAR FATHER CHRISTMAS. Attractive woman, 51, professional, tolerant, compassionate, warm-natured, incurably young, adventurous and optimistic. Twice married to attractive but unreliable men, will now happily settle for dwarf with tool-box, sense of humour and considerate nature, 45+. Relationship to be mutually agreed. West Yorks area. Box 9844.

FORMER JOURNALIST, warm-hearted, male law student, 30s, seeks female sympathiser or fellow sufferer, for mutual support. Age immaterial. Central London based? Box 4035.

GAY WOMAN, 41, Cumbria, seeks similar from anywhere for correspondence/friendship. Interests include music, reading, natural history, walking. Box 4066.

INDEPENDENT FEMINIST, missing close male friends (35-45). Cancerian, likes home & Ella, Billie, Grace, looking for men friends/lovers. Usual interests — cinema, travel, jazz, reggae. Lives Yorkshire. Photo may help? Box 4084.

THE MARRIAGE BUREAU (Heather Jenner), 124 New Bond Street, W1. 01-629 9634. Consult us for individual attention.

JEWISH GENTLEMAN, sincere, reliable, healthy 59. Unemployed, divorced, Continental born. Residing NW London, wishes to meet refined, reasonably solvent lady, not necessary Londoner, view marriage. Box 4067.

LAUGHTER IS INDISPENSIBLE!! London based slim male, 31, interests include Labour Party, CND, photography, countryside, travel, seeks similar female (area immaterial) who wants a caring relationship with plenty of humour. Box 4078.

LONG-TERM PRISONER, 27, needs sincere woman for friendship, correspondence, lasting relationship. Interests: running, badminton, jazz, reading, rehabilitation. Box 4080.

LONDON-BASED Indian guy, 32, Westernised, presentable, slim, sensible, seeks masculine, active, reasonable-looking friend 38-55. Mature, unpretentious type preferred. Box 4074.

WIDOWER, late 50s, writer, seeks ladyfriend in S. London or Southern Home Counties. Likes conversing with interesting people, listening to classical music, being in beautiful places, watching non-fiction TV, and getting up early. Reads NS assiduously, but votes Alliance. Box 4071.

PROFESSIONAL WOMAN, 31, with left-wing views — interested in feminism, theatre, cinema, books and an easy life — seeks non-smoking male companion of similar age and interests. Box 4068.

TALL, YOUTHFUL, amusing 39 year-old man, exiled West Yorkshire Pennines, many interests, seeks non-smoking female companion for meals, outings, and lolling about. Box 4069.

UNATTACHED, PROFESSIONAL, caring, lithe male (51), seeks intelligent, affectionate, youthful, non-smoking, slim, female graduate (under 5' 6") for laughter, friendship/(hopefully), long lasting relationship. Yorkshire/anywhere. Box 4077.

UNIVERSITY STUDENT, 28, just returned from long residence abroad, seeks warm, intelligent female interested in the arts, travel and spontaneous fun. Box 4086.

WEST YORKSHIRE: warm, bookish man, 33, sense of humour, likes food/booze, seeks similar/opposite female, for open ended friendship. Box 4070.

WRITER, presentable, solvent, own home, no ties, soft left, seeks 50-plus London lady for gentle relationship, not games. Gladly exchange photos. Box 4072.

SERVICES

FOR FAST efficient WORD PROCESSING Service (and those special emergency jobs) at competitive rates, tel. Viviene 01-883 2170.

PIANO TUNER and repairer. Denys Parsons MSc. turns up punctually. NW3/5/11; N2/6/8/10/19 only. 01-340 4695.

QUALITY TYPING. English, German, French. Moderate charges. Anne Shotts: 01-452 6617.

THE TYPING POOL a women's co-operative. Professional low cost typing of articles, theses, letters, etc. from script or tape. Translation and typing of French, German, Spanish and Italian. Central London. Tel: 01-430 0381.

TYPING, WORD processing and translation. Fast efficient service. Collection and delivery service. The Transcription Service 01-735 2964.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

APPOINTMENTS

LABOUR MP requires part-time assistant. General office duties, some research, typing essential. Apply with references: Box 9853.

EXPERIENCED TUTOR wanted for position in Bolivia to be responsible for the complete academic education of 10 year-old boy. Beautiful surroundings and generous salary. Contact L. Bruckmann, 56 Remsen Avenue, Monsey, New York 10952, USA.

OV SELECTION have a number of vacancies for temporary & permanent office staff with typing skills. We welcome enquiries from mature people as well as College leavers. Phone Odette Veazey, OV Selection (Emp. Agy), Abford House, 15 Wilton Road, London SW1V 1LT. 01-828 8345.

PADDINGTON LABOUR Club requires Club Manager (M./f.) to run Social Club. Must be able to handle administrative and social aspects of the club, money, the bar and finances. Accommodation one bed flat. Write/ring for application form: Paddington Labour Club, 39 Chippenham Road, London W9 2AH. Tel. 01-286 9692

QUAKER MEETING at Wanstead, London E11, seeks resident wardens. Small bungalow, gas and electricity provided in return for care (excluding cleaning) of modern Meeting House. Further details from John Smith, 41 Malford Grove, London E18 2DY.

City of Manchester

HOUSING DEPARTMENT

HULME PROJECT TEAM

Hulme Ward lies just south of Manchester City Centre and contains some of the City's worst Council flats. Most were built in the 1960's and 1970's, about 3,000 of them to the now notorious 'deck access' design. As well as bad housing the area suffers from enormous problems of social and economic deprivation.

The City Council has decided to bring about the gradual renewal of the area in consultation with local residents. A Project Team led by a Project Co-ordinator is being established in the Housing Department to co-ordinate this huge undertaking. Team members will also be seconded from other Council departments as necessary.

All postholders will be based in Hulme and will be expected to display a high degree of commitment to the area and to its residents. We are looking for candidates with a sympathy and understanding of inner city problems and an enthusiasm for overcoming them.

Initially we are looking for:

Research Officer (£8,154-£8,712)

Who will carry out the research required by the team through office based research, field work and tenant consultation. You will also be involved in publicising the work of the Team.

As well as research qualifications and experience we require an ability to work under pressure to tight deadlines.

Development Officer

(£7,191-£7,896)

To act as a point of liaison between tenants who need to be rehoused, the Housing Department, the Architect and the Contractor. You will need to combine tact and diplomacy with a working knowledge and experience of building project work.

Clerical Officer (£4,959-£5,493)

To provide general reception and clerical support. Knowledge and experience of office systems and organisation will be essential as will an ability to communicate readily with people from a wide range of backgrounds. There may be a requirement to perform relief clerical duties at the Moss Side Area Management Office from time to time.

In all the above posts you may be required from time to time to work outside normal office hours.

Clerk Typist (£2,976-£4,959)

To provide typing services to the members of the team. This may involve audio/or shorthand typing as required. There may also be a requirement to cover for the absence of the Clerical Officer and to carry out relief typing at the Moss Side Area Management Office from time to time.

Application forms from the Director of Housing, Personnel and Training Officer, Room M23, Mezzanine Floor, Town Hall Extension, Manchester 2. Tel. 061-236 3377 Ext. 340.
Closing date: 4 January 1985.

The City Council operates a Union Membership agreement under which a new employee is required to become a member of a recognised Union.

Manchester City Council is a Equal Opportunitty Employer, and we positively welcome applications from women and men, regardless of their racial, ethnic or national origin, disability, age, sexuality, or responsibilities for dependants.

UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

CHAIR IN DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT & PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
Reference no. 46/04

Applications are invited for a Chair in the Department of Government and Public Administration which will become vacant on the retirement of Professor H. Mayer at the end of 1984. There is another Chair in the Department which is currently filled by a Visiting Professor. Applicants should have interest in one or more of the areas of political science. Teaching and research in the Department cover public policy and administration, comparative politics, political sociology, international politics, political theory and Australian government.

Salary will be at the rate of **$A52,026 p.a.**

The University reserves the right not to proceed with any appointment for financial or other reasons.

Applications, quoting reference no., including curriculum vitae, list of publications and the names of three referees, to: **The Registrar, University of Sydney, NSW 2006, Australia, by** *1 March 1985.* Further information also available from: **Association of Commonwealth Universities (Appts), 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF.**

Transport and General Workers' Union

EDUCATION ASSISTANT

A vacancy has arisen in the Central Office Education Department of the TGWU.
Applicants will need to have experience in developing tutorial materials and course programmes on the Union's work and policies, and preferably possess both trade union and academic qualifications.
The duties include the sharing of administrative responsibilities within a small team who support an extensive national and regional education and training programme.
Salary £9,109 per annum plus Luncheon Vouchers and twenty six days holiday.
Please write for application form to: **Mr R. Collins, Central Office Manager, Transport & General Workers' Union, Transport House, Smith Sq., London SW1P 3JB.**
Closing date 3 January 1985.

P.E.P.
THE PRIORITY ESTATES PROJECT

Project Co-ordinator

needed to work in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, developing estate-based management in one district (6,000 council dwellings, largely flats, in five Neighbourhood Offices).

The Project Co-ordinator must have ability to negotiate and deal effectively with senior officers, tenants and workers, help members of ethnic minorities, organise and administer detailed management and maintenance procedures, draft reports and address meetings.

The job requires commitment, flexibility, energy and insight.

The Project Co-ordinator will work closely with the District Team Manager and Estate Co-ordinators. S/he will be a member of the Priority Estates Project team.

Potentially the most challenging and innovative job in public housing and of major national significance.

Salary negotiable minimum **£12,000**. Secondments from existing employment can be considered. The job requires an immediate commitment of three years.

Further details: **from P.E.P., 14 Tivoli Road, N8.**

Closing date for completed applications: 30 December 1984.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CIIR

Catholic Institute for International Relations

PROGRAMME COORDINATOR: PERU

CIIR requires a new coordinator for its small development programme in Peru, which includes projects in health and agriculture.

Based in Lima, the coordinator liaises with a range of Peruvian organisations and with CIIR in London, provides administrative support for CIIR workers in Peru, and evaluates both current projects and requests for new CIIR workers.

The post demands a capacity to relate to all sorts of people — from peasant farmers to government officials. The coordinator also needs the judgement to evaluate and develop CIIR's programme in Peru, as well as good administrative and communication skills. Good Spanish and an understanding of Latin America are also preferable, although some language training can be provided.

The contract is for a minimum of two years. A basic salary, insurance, air fares and other allowances are provided, to cover the needs of a single person without dependants. *Starting date: May 85 or earlier.* For a job description and application form, please send your CV and a large SAE to **CIIR Overseas Dept., 22 Coleman Fields, London N1 7AF. Please quote ref NSTA/2.**

FELLOWSHIP

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

Junior Judith E. Wilson Visiting Fellowship

The Faculty Board of English invite applications for a Junior Judith E. Wilson Visiting Fellowship for two or three University terms during the academical year 1985-86. Applicants should normally be under the age of thirty-five. For 1985-86 applications are invited from creative writers who have only recently embarked on their careers in any literary field other than drama. The Junior Visiting Fellow will be expected to reside in Cambridge during the appointment and to work with undergraduates in the Faculty.

Further information may be obtained from the **Secretary, Judith E. Wilson Fund, Faculty of English, 9 West Road, Cambridge CB3 9DP,** to whom applications, containing a *curriculum vitae*, should be sent by **1 February 1985.**

APPOINTMENTS WANTED

UNEMPLOYED BARRISTER, 24, Cambridge graduate, urgently seeks job in London. Housing and community law experience. Keen to work in social and/or political area. 01-986 0938.

PERSONAL

ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION: Infertility Clinic in London requires healthy, married Chinese donors who have had children. High fee payable. Tel. 01-958 7738 for details.

COMPUTER COMPETITION organiser for local Labour Party group (Basildon — Billericay) seeks help with judging entries and donation of prizes. Details from: Harold Bruce, 24 Gaynesford, Basildon, Essex. 0268 44660.

HOLIDAYS/TRAVEL

CUBA SPECIAL. Two weeks holiday including six day tour plus seven days hotel beach resort. Departing 7 April and 26 May. £595 per person. Must book now. Ashley Holidays, 131a Bawtry Rd, Wickersley, Rotherham. 0709 543626.

JOURNEY LATIN AMERICA. Low cost flights, holiday journeys. 3-6 weeks. JLA, 16 Devonshire Road, London W4 2HD. 01-747 3108.

TRAVEL BARGAINS FOR CHRISTMAS AND 1985

Considerable reductions for schools and other parties

Write for our 1985 BROCHURE. NOW!

NAPLES, CAPRI, POMPEII
23-31 Dec. £145
11/18 May £145.
Price includes all breakfasts & dinners at hotel & full touring to **Capri, Pompeii, Herculaneum & Vesuvius.**

A FORETASTE OF 1985 ATTRACTIONS

LENINGRAD via GDR £190 30 March/11 April
LAKE GARDA, DOLOMITES, COMO . . . £125
5/14 April & 25 May-2 June, 7/16 Sept.
ANDORRA & PYRENEES £135, 6-14 April
NORWEGIAN FJORDS £160, 25 May-2 June
MOSCOW BY TRAIN 11 day holidays . . . £190 5/15 April & 27 Apr.—7 May, also leaving every Tuesday 9 July/17 Sept.
ORIENT EXPRESS to BLACK SEA . . . £155
dates as Moscow.
BERLIN, DRESDEN, LEIPZIG, PRAGUE . . . £145.
27 March—5 April, & 20-29 April.
PRAGUE £160 6/13 April & 12/19 May.

YORKSHIRE TOURS
49 Thornton Lodge Road
Huddersfield HD1 3JQ.
Tel: 0484 24269

CHRISTMAS

CHRISTMAS OFFER. Beautiful Colour Calendars, peasant painting posters, cards & cassettes. Available from: Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, 20-21 Compton Terrace, London N1.

FINANCIAL

IMMEDIATE ADVANCES £100-£25,000. Written terms on request. Regional Trust Ltd, 31 Dover St, London W1A 4RT. 01-491 2934.

SALARIED PERSONS Postal Loans Ltd. Loans from £50. 175 Regent Street, London W1. For written quote apply: Tel. 01-734 1974.

ACCOMMODATION VACANT

ACADEMICS VISITING. We have furnished flats near British Museum and Univerisities — Helen Watson & Co. 01-580 6275.

DRISCOLL HOUSE, 200 single rooms, p.b. £50 p.w. 172 New Kent Rd, London SE1. 01-703 4175.

HOLIDAY FLATS/Houses to let. King's Cross, London. Telephone 01-607 4518.

THERAPY

EXPERIENCED, CARING PSYCHOTHERAPISTS. 01-794 6810, 01-586 4109, 01-883 5418.

FOR SALE

AT LAST! Amusing! Rude! Subtle! Outrageous! Legal? CND badges. S.a.e. for list to: Monica Crowe, 17 Victoria Terrace, Hove, E. Sussex.

LISTINGS

FRI 14 DEC

LONDON Marxism Today's Miners Christmas Appeal 'Fill a miner's stocking for Christmas' Please send money to buy presents, turkeys, Christmas puddings. Send to: Marxism Today Miners Appeal, Freepost, 15 St John St, EC1B 1JB. Van will take everything to NUM/Marxism Today social in the coalfields on 22 Dec.

LONDON 'Release Nelson Mandela in 1985' 5.30-7.30pm Picket of South African Embassy, Trafalgar Sq. + every Friday called by **City of London AA Grp. 01-837 6050.**

HARINGEY An Evening for the Miners Christmas Appeal with live music from 'Potato Five', dancing to 'Pit Disco', late Bar. Adm. £2/£1 UB40 cards Haringey Community & Trade Union Centre, 2A Brabant Rd, N22. Access for disabled (no toilets). **Details: NALGO, Haringey Branch, 01-881 3000 x 3351.**

LONDON Marxism Today's Xmas Extravaganza — bring a gift for the Grand Xmas appeal for the miners 8pm Merlin's Cave Margery St, WC1. Adm. £2/£1.50 UB40. Live music, late bar, food, wild dancing, guest stars.

SAT 15 DEC

LONDON 'The Right of Reply in Broadcasting?' 10am County Hall, SE1. **Org. Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom, ABS, ACTT, NUJ, 9 Poland St, W1. 01-437 2795.**

ORMSKIRK Dayschool on Law, Policy and the State' 10am-5pm Edge Hill Coll. of HE, St. Helens Rd. **Creche bking & details: Kathryn Chadwick/Phil Scraton 0695 75171.**

BOLTON Socialist Winter Fair 12 noon-5pm Socialist Club, Wood St. (off Bradshawgate). Bookstalls, Xmas cards, badges, bar, wholefood & Miners stall for Xmas food/toys.

GREENHAM Orange Gate 2pm Commemoration of Andy Howieson who died 4 Oct 1984. She worked for peace all her life which will be celebrated by an action open to all women everywhere. **Details: Terri Hogan, Grange Farm Cottage, Maiden Bradley, Nr. Warminster, Wilts. Maiden Bradley 217.**

SUN 16 DEC

MOLESWORTH Ex-Services CND Carols on site of planned cruise missile base 2.30pm. **Details: John Hurst 01-892 8912 (eve) 01-245 5065 (day) Barbara Elliott 0733 266057.**

LONDON 'The British Labour Movement & Zionism' MAPAM meeting with Ian Mikardo, MP 8pm 37 Broadhurst Gardens, NW6. **Details: 01-328 2554.**

WED 19 DEC

HOUNSLOW Miners' Xmas Appeal Benefit Social 7.30pm to midnight Montague Hall, Montague Rd, (nrest. tube Hounslow Central) Entry by Xmas gifts and non-perishable food items. Spkr. Terry Butkeraitis, President Whitewell NUM, N. Derbyshire. Collection, buffet, disabled access. **Org. Hounslow Miners' Support Cttee: Celia Dignan/Peter Conway 01-572 3764 (day).**

THURS 20 DEC

HAMPSTEAD Benefit for the Miners with 'Amazulu' & 'The Spectres'. 8pm till late Hampstead Town Hall, Haverstock Hill, MW3. Adm. £4/£2 UB40. Please bring Xmas toys for Miners' children. **Org. Camden Miners Support Grp.**

Sorry, but we can't accept entries over the phone. Entries must be received by Friday preceding issue date. We reserve the right to exclude items without giving reasons and are not responsible for errors. Space is strictly limited so if you definitely want your item to appear, we suggest you book it as an ad under the appropriate classified heading. See main heading for rates, etc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FROM 4 JANUARY 1985 you can

E X P A N D

your Social Contacts with

PURSUITS

— the new New Statesman column for those who wish to share special interests and leisure activities:

BRIDGE/CHESS
THEATRE/MUSIC/DANCE
SPORTS/TRAVEL
SOCIETIES/DISCUSSION
PENFRIENDS/CLUBS
CRAFTS/EXPLORING
PURSUITS. . .

. . .just **£4** for 24 words including **BOX NUMBER** and you can find the 'fourth' for bridge, the petrol sharer for your tour, the cox for your boat, or the group that goes to the opera. You'll discover where these people are with ads like this. . .

TWO DUMMIES are useless. Couple (male & female) NW London seek partners for bridge. Hoping to arrange weekly rubbers. Box or tel 01.

FOURTH TOURER needed for our excursion round Cornwall. Ideally suit male 25-30 interested in surfing to join group 2 women, 1 man & share costs. Box.

PUTNEY ROWERS CLUB. Coxes needed three nights a week for 4's, 8's and pairs to guide them through muddy waters. Box.

'MAGIC FLUTES', the new opera society, arranges outings, discussions and soirées. Now expanding in Bristol, Leeds & Manchester. Membership details from Cambridge headquarters tel 0223.

SCRAMBLING IN SCOTLAND. I'm planning to form a small group to tackle some of the more exacting ridge walks and scrambles in Scotland starting in May, eg Cuillin Ridge, Aonach Eagach. Interested? Contact Deborah Saint, Box.

DALLAS based American (m) wants to start correspondence with English Coxes needed intellectual (m or f). Interests – Coronation Street, Brecht, Yorkshire, cream teas & Mozart. Box.

THESPIANS - small amateur drama group needs technical help with lighting/sound. Based in Birmingham. Please contact us at the Drama Hall, Birmingham.

CHESS by post. New correspondence group for national games. Contact Mr King, Rank Three, Checkers.

Develop your interests in 1985 and send the coupon to New Statesman — details below.

'PURSUITS' — 24 words + Box £4
'PURSUITS PLUS' — 24 words with centred headings + Box £6
Extra words at 26p each.

AD TEXT (BLOCK CAPS) or use separate sheet of paper

Name: _____

Address: _____

No. of weeks: _____ Remittance £_____
or charge my *Access/Visa/American Express

Card Number: _____

*Delete as applicable

Post Coupon to: Classified Dept., New Statesman,
FREEPOST, London EC1B 1EB

COURSES

UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

Department of Sociology
Advanced Studies in Sociology

Full and Part-Time 1985-86
MA Degrees by Course Work

Sociology of Education
Designed for experienced teachers and others who are interested in education. It allows for reflection on current issues in education and teaching.

Sociology of Labour **(with specialism on Britain or Comparative Labour movements)**
Provides an opportunity for those interested or experienced in the labour movement to study about labour and trade unions, and their wider relation to state and society.

Sociological Research in Health Care
Designed for health care professionals and social scientists interested in studying the theories and methods of sociological research in health care.

The MAs are open to suitably qualified graduates and those with equivalent qualifications and experience. The degrees are awarded for course work essays and dissertations.

Degrees by thesis: MA, M.Phil. and PhD.
Supervision is available in most areas of sociological research. The Department has a large graduate school and a systematic programme of research training. Some grants are available for suitably qualified applicants.

Write or telephone for further information: **Graduate Secretary, Graduate School, Department of Sociology, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL (0203 24011 ext. 2499)**

UNIVERSITY OF BRADFORD

DIPLOMA/MA IN WOMEN'S STUDIES (Applied)

Applications are invited for this part-time or full time course of study.

Applications are encouraged from a wide variety of higher education and employment backgrounds. The course combines a range of theoretical and practical studies and projects relating to women, feminism and society.

Options provide an opportunity to pursue individual interests in the areas of race and community, class, third world development, gender and biology, politics, cultural studies, language and welfare state services, and community programmes in education, health, social work and equal opportunities. The part-time programme requires students to attend the University on one day per week for two years; full-time students complete in one year.

For further details, write to the **Admissions Tutor, Women's Studies, Postgraduate School of Applied Social Studies, University of Bradford, West Yorkshire, BD7 1DP.**

NO-NONSENSE ECONOMICS
A down-to-earth exposition of how the economy works
Courses begin 15 and 17 Jan. 1985
(Attend one evening a week either Tuesday or Thursday, 7pm)
Fee £15 for 12-week term
Prospectus: 01-834 4979 or write ESSRA School of Economic Studies 177 Vauxhall Bridge Rd., London SW1

GURDJIEFF/OUSPENSKY CENTRE ACCEPTING STUDENTS NOW. Tel: Chorley Wood 4792.

IN MEMORIAM

DAVID ROSENBERG

died suddenly on **22 November.** All those who knew David are invited to come and remember him on

Saturday 26 January 6pm, in the

Senior Common Room, Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HX.
Tel: 01-580 6622 ext. 402.

MEETINGS

THEOSOPHY: S.a.e. for free pamphlets, book list, programme of activities. Public talk Sunday 16 Dec. 8 p.m. 'The Tradition of Saviours'. ULT, 62 Queen's Gardens, London W2 3AL.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY stands for a new world society without war and world hunger. Only an overwhelming majority of people – determined informed Socialists, acting democratically, could beneficially transform society. A world socialist community could: 1. Stop all dangerous and harmful production. 2. Change for the better the ways in which we produce what we really need. 3. Start doing what is necessary to preserve ourselves, and our planet for our children. The capitalist system, in its private, corporate or state forms, whether 'East' or 'West', would be replaced by a new world society without frontiers, without money or barter. Decisions could be made locally, regionally and at world levels by the people of the world, united in their common ownership and democratic control of the means of production. Write for Declaration of Principles, free 'Socialist Standard', details of local and other meetings to: THE SOCIALIST PARTY of GB, Enfield & Haringey Branch (World Production for Use/EH1), c/o 17 Dorset Road, London N22. Overseas visitors please write.

BOOKS/ PUBLICATIONS

IRISH BOOKS. Catalogue issued. D. Canavan, 44 Tylney Road, London E7 0LR.

REVIEW COPIES and other books in fine condition bought and sold by Vermilion Books, 57 Red Lion St, London WC1. Tel: 01-242 5822.

SECONDHAND BOOKS wanted all types and quantities. Clifton Books, Southend (0702) 331004

—Wanted—

PUBLISHER, TRUST OR CHARITY
to promote:
ANIMAL RIGHTS, OVERTHROW OF MILITARISM & WORLD CHANGE
20 books await publication — novels, essays, illustrated works.
Small quantities of these & price list from
ANTONY BATES
365 SANDYCOMBE RD
KEW GARDENS
SURREY TW9 3PR
01-948 2315

Incorporating 'The Nation', 'The Athenaeum' and 'The Week-end Review'. Registered as a newspaper. Typesetting by Simon Typesetting, 116 Cleveland Street, London EC1R 0DP.
Printed by Benham & Co Ltd, Sheepen Place, Colchester CO3 3LH. Published by The Statesman & Nation Publishing Co. Ltd at 10 Eastbourne Terrace, London EC1R 3AU.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED